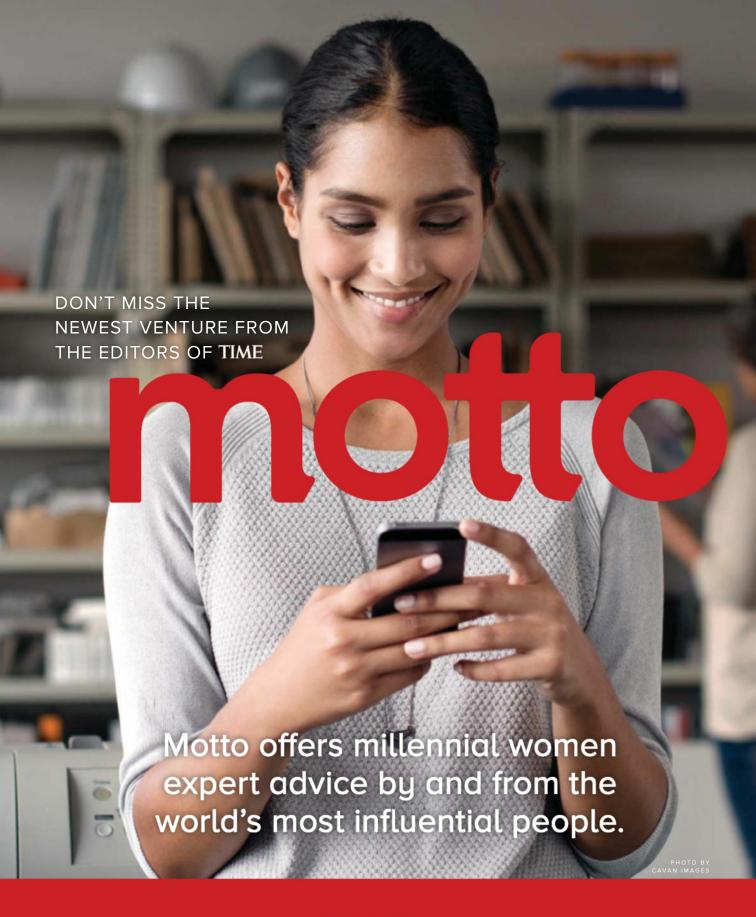
We Joke. You Decide.

The seriously partisan politics of late-night comedy

By Richard Zoglin





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Kluger, TIME's space writer, watches a simulated Martian sunset on Hawaii's Mauna Loa on Sept. 1

Photograph by Cassandra Klos for TIME

ON THE COVER: Photo-illustration by Lon Tweeten for TIME

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What you said about ...

POWER OF EXERCISE "Thank you for a fantastic article," wrote cancer survivor and self-described exercise "evangelist" Phyllis Dubinsky of Playa del Rey, Calif., in response to Mandy Oaklander's Sept. 12–19 cover story on the

healing power of movement. Dexanne Clohan, president of the Foundation for Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation, called the piece "lifechanging" but noted that she would have liked more attention paid to those with disabilities who also need "safe and

'I do exercise regularly and even my bone density has improved.'

JOAN RUMMEL, Alpharetta, Ga.

consistent access to recreation and sport." Meanwhile, Peter Billard of Glastonbury, Conn., lamented the lure of the ever-present home couch: "The exact opposite of mental, social, spiritual and physical activity and personal improvement."

TRANS PREGNANCY Some readers were upset by Jessi Hempel's Sept. 12–19 article about her brother Evan, a transgender man who recently gave birth to his first son—especially the decision to show a photograph of Evan chest-feeding the baby. "The photo was very

'We live in amazing times.
Transgender man gives birth, breast-feeds baby.'

CLAMOR WORLD, on Twitter

inappropriate," wrote Sally Royal of Indianapolis, "How does he think his child will feel when he sees himself nursing at his father's breast one day?" added Sarah Lohmeyer of St. Louis. But Diane from San Antonio saw it as "wonderful" that the "most beautiful process in the world"-the experience of giving birth—"has now been shared with a man."

Joanne Elliott of South Bowenfels, Australia, agreed, praising TIME for the "extremely moving and sensitive" article.



NEW IN VIRTUAL REALITY The LIFE name has always meant new ways of seeing the world. That tradition now continues with LIFE VR, a new virtual-reality experience that will feature original content from across Time Inc. Starting Sept. 20, dive into TIME's exclusive VR companion piece to Ken Burns' PBS documentary Defying the Nazis: The Sharps' War. The experience, produced by VR Playhouse, will be available in the free LIFE VR mobile app at time.com/lifevr



Subscribe to TIME's health newsletter and get a weekly email full of news and advice to keep you well. For more, visit time.com/email



DOGS IN DANGER Venezuela's economic crisis is put into unusual perspective by photographer Carlos Garcia Rawlins, who captured its impact on the dogs (like Duke, above) at a shelter near Caracas. See more at time.com/venezuela-dogs

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BRAVE NEW WORDS

Hundreds of new terms—like the three below— have made their way into the Oxford English Dictionary. To learn more about them, visit time .com/0ED-2016

YOLO (int.) "You only live once"; used to express the view that one should make the most of the present moment without worrying about the future (often as a rationale for impulsive or reckless behavior)

GENDER-FLUID

(adj.) Designating a person who does not identify with a single fixed gender

BRACKETOLOGY

(n.) The activity of predicting the participating teams in a tournament (typically the NCAA basketball tournament) and the winners of the competition's stages, as depicted in a diagram representing the sequence of matches

A RON HOWARD FILM

CHICAGO BILM

THE TOURING YEARS

THE BAND YOU KNOW. THE STORY YOU DON'T

THE HEADLE APPLE CORPS LIMITED RESPONS IN WHITE HORSE PICTURES AND MASSIVE EXTERTIONACHET PROJECTION IN ACCOUNTING WITH INCHORD COSCS.) BOTH HAVAND THAT THE KEALLE EIGHT LOSS A WEEK - THE TOLORISHED WITH STAND SHAWARD WITH STAND SHAWARD S

SEPTEMBER 17 hulu



'This is all that I wanted for them to let me be me.'

CHELSEA MANNING, the transgender U.S. Army private serving a 35-year prison sentence for leaking classified documents to WikiLeaks, on being allowed to undergo gender transition surgery. Five days into her hunger strike, the Army agreed to the surgery; Manning said she attempted suicide on July 5

\$325,000

Amount of money crowdfunded in four days for 89-year-old Chicago ice-pop vendor Fidencio Sanchez after a photo of him struggling to push his cart went viral online



'HE TAKES US FOR IDIOTS.'

COLIN POWELL, former
U.S. Secretary of State under
President George W. Bush,
writing about Donald Trump's
treatment of black voters, in an
Aug. 21, 2015, personal email
that was among those leaked
by DCLeaks.com on Sept. 13.
In another email, Powell said
that everything Hillary Clinton
touches "she kind of screws up
with hubris"

'I support our players speaking out on issues that they think need to be changed in society.'

ROGER GOODELL, NFL commissioner, on San Francisco 49ers quarterback Colin Kaepernick's controversial decision not to stand during the national anthem to protest injustices against African Americans

\$6,500

Amount the sugar industry paid Harvard University scientists

to produce a 1967 review de-emphasizing sugar's association with heart disease, according to newly published documents; it is equivalent to about \$50,000 today



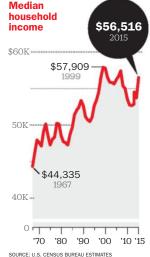
'Here, people can't believe anything. But they are always waiting for peace.'

KHALED KHALIFA, Syrian author, explaining the national mood in Syria toward the cease-fire in the civil war that began at sundown on Sept. 12

'We are looking out for ... the children who are not even born yet.'

DAVID ARCHAMBAULT II, chairman of the Standing Rock Sioux tribe and one of many Native Americans speaking out against an oil pipeline starting in North Dakota, which they say could damage both heritage sites and their water supply

America's median household income increased **5.2%** in 2015, the largest annual uptick since the Census Bureau began surveying income in 1967, according to data released on Sept. 13



28

Age of Angelique Kerber,
U.S. Open women's
singles champion,
making the German the
oldest player to debut
at the top of the world
rankings in the history
of the Women's Tennis

Association

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIM

TheBrief

"THE EASY COURSE IS STILL TO CONDEMN. ISSUE A THREAT. OFFER A BRIBE AND DELAY THE RECKONING." —PAGE 8



Clinton returns to her motorcade on Sept. 11 after briefly recuperating at her daughter Chelsea's apartment

POLITICS

In the 2016 election, distrust cuts both ways

By Michael Scherer

WHEN SHE REAPPEARED ON A NEW York City sidewalk, Hillary Clinton was all smiles for the network cameras staked out around her daughter's home. She wanted to replace the images from a cell-phone video that had circulated hours earlier, showing her being helped into a van, overcome by heat and dehydration, during a Sept. 11 memorial service. "I'm feeling great," she told the cameras. Then she said it again, two more times.

Maybe she was. She certainly looked better. But when she spoke those words, her diagnosis of pneumonia, delivered with an antibiotic prescription two days earlier, was still undisclosed. Her decision to take the next three days off to rest had yet to be announced. Those three words— *I'm feeling great*—turned out to

conceal more than they revealed.

The illness was a minor one, a bug common to people who live in planes and greet hundreds of strangers a day. But her misleading comments revealed both Clinton's instincts and why the public has trouble trusting her. Pollsters long ago found an overwhelming—and ironic—disconnect between the American people and the two candidates elected to lead their respective parties. More than 6 in 10 voters say Clinton and Donald Trump are each not "honest and trustworthy," with him often scoring worse than her.

That kind of distrust runs both ways, and then it feeds upon itself. The candidates, pushed to live in a glass house of constant scrutiny, have become unusually wary of revealing

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW HARNIK 5

themselves this year. Trump has taken to banning news outlets that report on parts of his world he does not like to see aired and forcing his employees to sign nondisclosure agreements. He refuses to take the most basic step of releasing his tax returns, which would give the country more detail on his income and charitable donations if not his foreign business partners. And he has refused for months to provide rudimentary medical information, beyond a hyperbolic letter from his eccentric doctor.

When called out for his equivocations, Trump tends to give no ground, arguing to this day that he opposed the Iraq invasion before the war, when he did not. Subterfuge, it seems, can be a Trumpian instinct: in May, he denied ever using aliases like John Barron when talking on the phone, even though he admitted to doing just that under oath in a 1990 deposition. For the falsehoods and smears he has promoted throughout the campaign—like the whoppers that Muslims in New Jersey celebrated terrorism en masse and that blacks are responsible for 81% of white murders there is no apology to be found.

There is, of course, a method to Trump's approach, honed through a business career made by pumping up the value of condos, steaks and vodka. "When you are making a public statement, you want to say it the most positive way possible," he once argued in another deposition. "I'm no different from a politician running for office."

Clinton's caution is rooted as much in restoring a long-wounded privacy as any mass-marketing campaign. She distrusts both the calls for more information and the way that information will be handled in public. "I have a lot of faith in the American people," President Obama likes to say. Clinton too often seems to begin with the opposite assumption, wary of doing anything that would allow the outlandish conspiracy theories peddled by her enemies to gain traction. After her sidewalk declarations, her campaign admitted making mistakes in its handling of the health information and promised more details. Some Democrats, meanwhile, went public with their concern. "What's the cure for an unhealthy penchant for privacy that repeatedly creates unnecessary problems?" tweeted David Axelrod, Obama's former campaign strategist.

Axelrod was talking about the political damage Clinton has done to herself. But that is not all that is hurt by candidate secrecy. No part of American society has escaped the civil furies of the past 15 years, with public trust in fundamental institutions, from the courts to the media to organized religion, all declining. It's a distrust that breeds defensiveness, yielding further distrust. And unless we collectively choose to believe in each other again, it will only get worse.



TICKER

Trump unveils parental-leave plan

Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump said on Sept. 13 that he would guarantee new mothers six weeks of paid maternity leave and expand tax credits for child care if elected in November.

Australia moves on marriage equality

Australia's Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull called for a nonbinding public vote on whether the country should legalize same-sex marriage. The plebiscite, which needs Parliament approval, has been criticized as a waste of government funds.

Wells Fargo fined over fake accounts

Wells Fargo was fined \$185 million on Sept. 8 after regulators said employees illegally opened 2 million fake accounts to meet sales goals. Carrie Tolstedt, the executive who oversaw the guilty department, is to retire with a payout of roughly \$125 million.

Terror arrests across Europe

Three Syrians suspected of being ISIS members and having links to last year's Paris attackers were arrested in Germany on Sept. 13. The arrests came after three women were arrested near Paris on Sept. 8 in connection with a car filled with gas cylinders.

Putin's liberal opponents

Russia votes on Sept. 18 to elect members of its State Duma, or lower house of parliament. Experts predict the vote will deliver a firmly pro-Kremlin Duma, as liberal opposition parties have been systematically repressed since disputed elections in 2011 sparked protests against President Vladimir Putin. Even so, some liberal candidates are trying to make their mark. —Tara John



DMITRY GUDKOV

Gudkov, 36, is currently the sole liberal opposition lawmaker in the Duma and has been called "Putin's nemesis." He's running for re-election after his pro-Kremlin party expelled him for backing the 2011 protests.



MARIA BARONOVA

The activist, 32, is an independent candidate for a Moscow seat. She is one of 18 candidates supported by Open Russia, a reform movement launched by exiled tycoon Mikhail Khodorkovsky.



BULAT BARANTAYEV

One of the first openly gay men to run for a seat in modern Russian history, the 33-year-old doesn't expect a win but hopes the campaign will inspire the LGBT community to stand up to bigotry. He also wants Putin jailed.



Number of emergency-services personnel deployed in Mecca in September as 1.8 million Muslims made the hajj pilgrimage





NATIVE LANDS Native American protesters march on Sept. 9 near the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation, just north of Canon Ball, N.D., to demonstrate against construction of the 1,200-mile Dakota Access Pipeline, which is being built to carry oil from North Dakota to Illinois. Tribal leaders say the pipeline would cut through ancestral lands, including sacred areas and ancient burial sites, and threaten their only water source, the Missouri River. Photograph by Bryan Schutmaat

DISPLACED

Can the world agree on a plan to help refugees?

GLOBAL LEADERS WILL ATTEND TWO HIGHprofile meetings Sept. 19-20 on the issues of migration and refugees. Summits hosted by the U.N. and U.S. President Barack Obama will attempt to forge a global response to the plight of the 65.3 million people forcibly displaced worldwide:

GRAND PLANS At the U.N.'s first-ever Summit for Refugees and Migrants, 194 member states are expected to adopt a set of nonbinding commitments that will be known as the New York Declaration. The following day, Obama will host a summit dedicated solely to refugees. He hopes to persuade each country to double global resettlement numbers, expand humanitarian assistance by 30% and increase by a million each the number of refugees at work and in school.

EMPTY WORDS Aid agencies say the U.N.'s draft declaration contains few concrete pledges and has been watered down. During negotiations,

the U.S. quibbled over a section saying that forced detention is never in the best interests of a child, while Western European countries removed a clause that would obligate governments to resettle specific numbers of people.

SETTING AN EXAMPLE Obama is to announce ahead of his summit that the U.S. will take in 110,000 refugees next year, perhaps in hopes that others will follow his lead. With 21.3 million refugees across the globe, the need for action and not just words has never been greater. —T.J.

> **≺** Obama is hosting a refugee summit on the sidelines of the U.N. General Assembly



FISHY FRAUD

A report on studies from around the world found 20% of over 25,000 samples of seafood were mislabeled. Here, some of the most egregious examples:

White tuna A recent study found 50 cases in the U.S. where a fish labeled as white tuna in sushi restaurants was in fact escolar, known to cause stomach problems for some people.



A study in Italy found 82% of grouper, perch and swordfish samples were another kind of fish.



A Brazilian study found 55% of shark samples were actually largetooth sawfish.

Sole

A study in Germany found around half of fish samples labeled sole were in fact something else



TICKER

Edward Snowden seeks pardon

Edward Snowden will ask President Obama for a pardon for leaking classified details of the U.S. government's surveillance of citizens in 2013. The whistleblower, who now lives in Russia, said in a new interview that his disclosures were morally correct.

South Sudan leaders enriched by war

Leaders of the warring sides in South Sudan's civil war have amassed vast fortunes through kickbacks and graft, according to a two-year probe launched by actor and activist George Clooney.

Facebook restores iconic photo

Facebook apologized for deleting from its pages a celebrated Vietnam War photo that showed a naked girl injured in a napalm attack. Norwegian Prime Minister Erna Solberg, who posted the Pulitzer Prize—winning photo on her page, had accused the company of censorship.

Brazil ousts Rousseff's nemesis

Brazilian lawmakers expelled the former House Speaker responsible for orchestrating the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff. Eduardo Cunha was kicked out of office for failing to disclose offshore financial assets.

THE RISK REPORT

A coming reckoning with North Korea

By Ian Bremmer

ON SEPT. 9, NORTH KOREA VIOLATED international sanctions by conducting its fifth underground nuclear test, apparently its most powerful to date, and some experts say another test explosion may well be in the works. Washington wants Beijing, which has grown frustrated by Pyongyang's defiance, to apply more pressure. South Korea has warned that it would respond to preparations for a nuclear attack by flattening Pyongyang.

This test marks one more step toward the day when no one will be able to believe that the problem can be managed with another round of sanctions. We've had five sets of those from the U.N. already, and Kim Jong Un's scientists are still hard at work on making a nuclear warhead small enough to mount on a ballistic missile. That would make it possible for North Korea to launch a nuclear attack on its neighbors—and perhaps on the U.S. There are conflicting estimates of when that day will come, but when it does, it will force the U.S. and China to choose among bad options.

There is consensus among all the relevant players—the U.S., China, South Korea and Japan—that Kim's regime threatens the security of all these countries. It's China that matters most, of course, because it's the source of most of North Korea's trade, food, fuel and finance. Beijing appears to have

little remaining sympathy for Pyongyang's position. But North Korea and China both know that a Korean conflict would flood China with millions of sick and starving refugees at a delicate moment for China's slowing economy. That undermines Beijing's ability to force North Korea's leaders to change course.

And it reveals why the unity of outsiders remains useless. How should these countries respond to this latest North Korean provocation? There is no good cause for hope that diplomats will be able to do more

There is no good cause for hope that diplomats will be able to do more than kick this can farther down the road

than kick this can farther down the road. Sanctions haven't made much difference. Sabotage the regime by creating unrest inside the country? That's a high-risk strategy with little chance of success. Launch a surprise

military attack to change the regime? That risks a shooting war with one of the largest standing armies in the world—with Seoul, a city of 10 million, well within firing range. The easy course is still to condemn, issue a threat, offer a bribe and delay the reckoning.

This strategy gives North Korea time to expand its capabilities. Unless outsiders find a way to undermine Kim's regime from within, he will one day have the capacity to kill millions of people in a matter of hours. The next U.S. President must prepare for the moment when a tough choice will need to be made quickly. Only then can unity of opinion create unity of action.

WORLD

Barriers at the borders

It's not just Donald Trump who's seeking to build a "big, beautiful wall." The U.K. said Sept. 6 that it would fund a wall in the French port of Calais to keep out migrants, one of many in the works around the world. —Tara John

MALAYSIA

Prime Minister Najib Razak and his Thai counterpart, Prayut Chan-o-cha, met on Sept. 9 to discuss building a wall along the border dividing their countries in an attempt to control transnational crime.

ISRAEL

Israeli officials said Sept. 7 that they had begun building an underground wall along the 37-mile Gaza border. The structure is intended to thwart Hamas militants who have used tunnels to launch attacks.

.

Milestones

DIED

> Prince Buster,

Jamaican music legend, on Sept. 8 at age 78. The performer, born Cecil Bustamente Campbell, is widely celebrated as a pioneer of ska music. > Eddie Antar,

> Eddie Antar, creator of the Crazy Eddie chain of New York—area electronics stores, on Sept. 10 at age 68. He was jailed during the 1990s for insider trading and fraud.

DISCOVERED

Giraffes are actually four separate species, not one, as scientists had long believed. Researchers say the finding may cause them to rethink conservation efforts.

SIGNED

Tim Tebow, to a minor-league contract with the New York Mets. If successful, the former Denver Broncos quarterback will join a select group of athletes who managed to play at the top levels of both baseball and football.



DIEL

Phyllis Schlafly Conservative icon

By Carol Felsenthal

FEW PEOPLE I KNOW WERE as inspired by their childhood as Phyllis Schlafly, who died Sept. 5 at age 92. Those who battled her over her decades as a conservative activist could only have wished she'd had a far different upbringing.

Born in 1924 in St. Louis, Schlafly was the older of two daughters. Her parents struggled financially; her engineer father Bruce lost his job in the Depression, and her mother Odile worked two jobs, seven days a week. There was no money for frivolity. Dinnertable conversation was about literature and politics, with Bruce steadfastly opposed to Roosevelt and his New Deal. Schlafly graduated valedictorian of her class at 16, eventually paying her way through Washington University by working nights.

This tenacity and capacity for hard work would never be more on display than in 1972, when the Equal Rights Amendment went to the state legislatures for ratification. Schlafly, representing the American Conservative Union, testifies before a Senate panel on Sept. 7, 1979

Schlafly, then 48, decided it would put the nation on a path to same-sex marriage and women in the draft. So she set out to defeat it. She and her legions of worshipful women would dash to Springfield, Ill., or Tallahassee, Fla., to lobby legislators, often with arsenals of home-baked bread and pies. The ERA ultimately fell short of ratification. It's no exaggeration to say that, in a sense, she single-handedly stopped it.

Her distaste for frivolity endured in adulthood. Asked once if she had any hobbies, she named "nuclear strategy" and Republican National Conventions. A former president of the National Organization for Women told me that while awaiting a school debate with Schlafly, she saw the packed auditorium and said to her opponent that she felt like Mick Jagger. "Who's Mick Jagger?" Schlafly asked.

Felsenthal is a biographer and the author of *The Sweetheart of the Silent Majority*

HUNGARY

Prime Minister Viktor Orban said Aug. 26 that Hungary would build "a more massive" structure on its border with Serbia. It will reinforce an existing razorwire fence, which was built to reduce the flow of migrants.

NORWAY

The Scandinavian country announced Aug. 24 that it was erecting a 660-ft. steel fence at its northern Skorskog border point with Russia to deter migrants from entering the country via the Arctic Circle.

KENYA

Construction of a 435-mile wall on Kenya's northeastern border with Somalia resumed in March. Authorities want to keep out al-Shabab militants, who have launched deadly terrorist attacks in Kenya.

UKRAINE

The country began building a wall along its border with Russia in 2014 in an attempt to stem alleged flows of aid for pro-Russian forces in Ukraine. As of August 2015, less than 10% had been completed.

ELECTION 2016

The pastor who prays with Trump

By Elizabeth Dias

DONALD TRUMP'S SON ERIC WAS GLOWing when he sat down at a Cleveland restaurant next to Orlando pastor Paula White. "Your prayer did it, Paula," Eric told her. The younger Trump's teleprompter had broken the night before as he prepared to address the Republican National Convention. "I thought I was going to have to wing 15 minutes to them all," he said. "You prayed, and the prompter went back on."

Eric Trump is not the only member of his family who has come to rely on White, 50, a popular televangelist who believes that intercessory prayer can have an immediate impact on shaping events. After she saw Eric, she went to her room in the Trump campaign's Cleveland hotel, where she spent the next four hours praying for Donald Trump as he prepared for his primetime convention address. Then at the candidate's invitation, she met the Republican nominee, his wife Melania and 10-year old son Barron for another circle of prayer in their room.

"I do remember asking God to give him his words and his mind, and to use him—that it would not be his words but God's words, that he would just really be sensitive to the Holy Spirit," White recalled in an interview with TIME weeks later. "I probably [interceded] against any plot or plan or weapon of the enemy to interfere with the plan or the will of God." That evening, White rode in Trump's car with his family to the arena.

TRUMP'S SPIRITUAL LIFE has been something of a mystery this election season. He describes himself as a Presbyterian, a "Sunday church person," and he has been known to bring his childhood Bible to rallies. But his religious expressions have often been uncertain. He publicly doubted whether he deserves evangelicals' support, claimed he has never sought forgiveness from a higher power and muffed a Bible citation, quoting "Two Corinthians" instead of "Second Corinthians."

But Trump's relationship with White



Paula White, Trump's longtime spiritual adviser, leads New Destiny Christian Center

isn't an overnight conversion; it's born of a longer courtship. The two met in 2002, after he watched White deliver a televised sermon on the value of vision. A longtime fan of televangelists David Jeremiah, Jimmy Swaggart and Billy Graham, he cold-called White to introduce himself. Later he asked if she would attend the first season finale of his reality show, The Apprentice. Before the live taping, she prayed for the cast and crew.

Over the next decade, White endured a number of public struggles, including divorce from her second husband, the collapse of their ministry, the death of her stepdaughter from cancer and a U.S. Senate Finance Committee investigation into her ministry's tax-exempt status, which was eventually dropped. Now she leads the 10.000-member New Destiny Christian Center, a nondenominational church in Orlando that leans Pentecostal. Throughout it all, her friendship with Trump has grown.

She bought an apartment in his

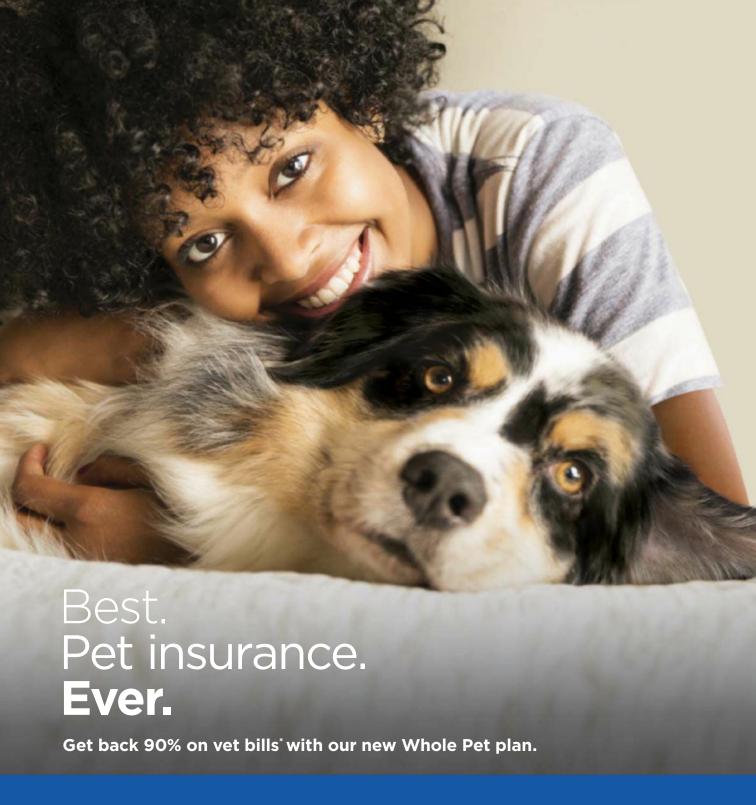
'I probably [interceded] against any plan of the enemy to interfere with the will of God.'

PAULA WHITE, on praying for Donald Trump at the convention

502 Park Avenue building, and when she hosted Bible studies in New York City, Trump occasionally attended. He publicly praised her 2007 inspirationalliving book You're All That!. and once took her to lunch at the three-Michelinstar Jean-Georges in Trump Tower, after which she decided to sign up for an etiquette class. When Trump considered running for President in 2011, he asked her to gather ministers. After praying together, Trump asked White what she thought of the timing. "I said, 'I don't think it's the time," she remembers. "He said, 'I don't either.'"

WHEN HE DECIDED to run four years later, White became a regular counselor, helping organize pastors to advise and pray for him. He still reaches out to her when he comes through Orlando on campaign events. "I'm probably the person that asks the questions like, Wouldn't you like to play golf right now? Or, When was the last time you had a great hamburger? Just to take a little of the edge off," White says. "This is an intense race, and friends are friends, always."

As for the power of her prayer at the GOP convention. White has no doubt who deserves the credit. "I think he did well that night, extremely well. I think there was a different tone that night," White says, "and I think that is because of his heart being open to God."



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PERSONAL FINANCE

Negative rates get a second look

By Paul J. Lim

WHILE THE ODDS THAT THE FEDERAL Reserve will hike interest rates soon have fallen recently, so too has the likelihood that it will turn to another unpopular strategy to address the ailing economy: negative rates.

Negative yields, which are particularly onerous to retirees who live off income from their bonds and cash accounts, flip the idea of interest on its head. Rather than getting paid on deposits, banks, businesses and savers can be charged a small amount for parking their cash. That penalty—critics call it a hidden tax on savers—is designed to encourage spending, investing and risk taking in hopes of promoting economic growth.

Lately, though, there have been signs this unconventional policy is backfiring. In Switzerland, negative rates are spurring businesses not to spend but rather to hoard cash outside the banking system. In Japan, which turned to negative rates in January in hopes of weakening its currency to spur exports, the ven actually strengthened against the dollar and is up 15% this year. In Denmark and Sweden, household-savings rates are rising, not falling, in response to this experimental policy. "This is another example of the rational economist not understanding the real world," says Robert Pozen, a senior lecturer at MIT's Sloan School of Management. He thinks it would be unwise for the Fed to turn to negative rates.

Economic policymakers in Europe and Japan may be frustrated that the private sector is doing the opposite of what was expected. But by and large, businesses and consumers have been behaving in their own best interests. "Put yourself in the shoes of a consumer who is driving around in an 11-year-old car," says James Paulsen, chief investment strategist and economist at Wells Capital Management. "If central banks around the world are having to resort to a policy so extreme that it wasn't even used in the Great Depression, that will probably scare you to put more into savings and put duct tape on the car."



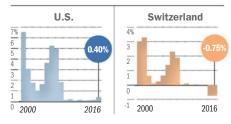
Fed Chair Janet Yellen will convene policymakers on Sept. 20 to mull interest rates

Even without negative rates in the U.S., this sense of caution has already taken hold after years of near zero rates—and financial planners say that's not a bad thing. For starters, instead of doing what the Fed wants by investing aggressively and borrowing more, American households have generally worked on improving their finances as of late. "Household debt as a share of disposable personal income is now well below the historic trend line," notes Liz Ann Sonders, chief investment strategist for Charles Schwab. Toss in the effect of low borrowing rates, and the debt-servicing burden for American families is near the lowest levels over the past 35 years.

AS FAR AS retirement plans go, fewer investors are taking extremely big risks with equities, also welcome news. At the end of 2007, 30% of 401(k) participants

RACE TO ZERO

U.S. interest rates have stayed low, producing similar results to those in countries like Switzerland, which went into negative territory



FIGURES ARE FOR SEPTEMBER. SOURCES: U.S. FEDERAL RESERVE,

in their 60s held more than 80% of their nest eggs in stocks, according to the Employee Benefit Research Institute. That was just as the market was heading into bear territory in which stocks lost more than half their value. By the start of last year, only 22% of 60-somethings were being that aggressive.

While fixed-income investments may not provide much in the way of yields these days, they offer much needed ballast and diversification to retirement portfolios. "It would be foolish to take on more and more risk," says Greg Schultz, a principal at Asset Allocation Advisors, an investment-management firm in Walnut Creek, Calif. He notes that after a seven-year bull market that has been propped up by easy money, many areas of the stock market are trading at above-average valuations.

Meanwhile, the overall savings rate for American households is up, not down—even with near zero yields on cash accounts. Savings as a share of disposable income has risen to 5.7%, up from 4.6% in 2013 and 2.5% in 2007.

This is actually one of the smartest things retirement savers can do in response to low rates. "Saving is not only the most powerful lever you have," says Stuart Ritter, senior resident for wealth strategy at PNC's assetmanagement group. "It's the one that's most in your control."

Lim is an assistant managing editor at Money magazine

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SYRIA

A fragile ceasefire raises hopes for a desperately needed peace

QUIET SETTLED OVER PARTS OF Syria on the night of Sept. 12, as a cease-fire negotiated by the U.S. and Russia began to take hold.

The truce is both partial and fragile. Residents in the besieged rebelheld section of the city of Aleppo said shelling continued in the hours after the agreement went into effect, which coincided with the Muslim holiday of 'Id al-Adha. On Sept. 13, Abdulkafi Alhamdo, an English teacher and activist in the rebel sector of the city, said he could hear warplanes overhead as he walked through Aleppo with his wife and 7-month-old daughter. "I heard the sound of artillery bombardment," he added.

If the truce holds for a full week, the deal calls for the U.S. and Russia to work together to launch airstrikes against ISIS and another jihadist group, the former Nusra Front, now known as Jabhat Fateh al-Sham. The group announced a split from al-Qaeda in July and is now allied with some mainstream rebel groups fighting the regime of Syrian President Bashar Assad.

The U.S.-Russian accord also calls for aid to eventually enter surrounded cities and towns. According to the U.N., 24 aid trucks were loaded and ready to enter the besieged section of Aleppo, where as many as 300,000 people are trapped, but the convoy was barred by the Syrian government. U.N. envoy Staffan de Mistura said on Sept. 13 that if the truce holds, he hopes to see "no bombs and more trucks." —JARED MALSIN/ISTANBUL

Syrian men carrying infants make their way through rubble in a rebel-held neighborhood in Aleppo

PHOTOGRAPH BY AMEER ALHALBI—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

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TheView

'THE TIMING OF OUR DAILY EVENTS UNFOLDS WITH LITTLE OR NO REGARD FOR OUR NATURAL RHYTHMS.' —PAGE 19



Eric Reid, left, and Colin Kaepernick of the San Francisco 49ers kneel during the national anthem on Sept. 1

NATION

How sports can move beyond lip-service patriotism

By Sean Gregory

WITH HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF fans packed into stadiums across the country and millions more watching on TV, the NFL kicked off its new season on Sept. 11 with a ritual that has become a given at American sporting events: playing the national anthem. Only this time, not every athlete went along. Following the lead of San Francisco 49ers quarterback Colin Kaepernick, who said he stopped standing during the song in the preseason as a way not to "show pride in a flag for a country that oppresses black people and people of color," players on teams throughout the league chose to kneel, raise their fists or lock arms in solidarity.

Criticism rained down hard. The protesting players have been called stupid, entitled and disrespectful by

fans and hot-take columnists (never mind that Kaepernick and others have been vocal about their support for the military and protest as a form of patriotism). But in addition to the conversation about racial injustice, the controversy raises another question: Should the national anthem be played at sporting events in the first place?

This is a decidedly American issue. Outside of international competitions like the Olympics, anthems are rarely heard at sporting events in other countries (though "O Canada" is in heavy rotation at games). Nor do America's other communal entertainment events, like the Academy Awards or Broadway plays, begin with a rousing rendition of "The Star-Spangled Banner." What makes ball

SAN FRANCISCO 49FRS/GETTY IMAGE

games especially patriotic?

Not surprisingly in the nation that regularly builds billion-dollar stadiums, the answer is a mix of good intentions and shrewd opportunism. The first documented playing of "The Star-Spangled Banner" at a sporting event dates back to 1862, when a band played the song before a baseball game in Brooklyn. But its most prominent first steps toward becoming a tradition date to Game 1 of the 1918 World Series, between the Chicago Cubs and Babe Ruth's Boston Red Sox. Swelling with World War I patriotism, a band played the anthem during the seventh-inning stretch. Fans sang along with gusto, players stood at attention, and Red Sox third baseman Fred Thomas, on furlough from the Navy, gave a military salute. Noting the reaction, Red Sox owner Harry Frazee, a theater impresario, moved the pageantry to the pregame when the series shifted to Boston and added another filigree by honoring wounded

Still, the anthem was typically reserved for special moments like opening day, holidays and the World Series—until World War II, when it was amplified, thanks to a renewed wave of national pride and the new technology of loudspeakers. "A ritual like the national anthem became part of the war effort on the home front, and says that sports is committed to all things American," says Mark Clague, an expert on "The Star-Spangled Banner" at the University of Michigan. "It defines sports as patriotic." In other words: it's good propaganda.

But if the larger goal of linking sports and patriotism is to create more meaningful support of one's country, there's more that leagues—and fans—could be doing than belting an anthem. According to a 2015 report from Arizona Senators Jeff Flake and John McCain, many of the pregame displays of flag waving, troop saluting and national-anthem performing have been paid for with public money (as a result of contracts between the Department of Defense and teams from the NFL, MLB, NBA, NHL and MLS). What if they were used to raise money too? The average price of an NFL ticket in 2015, for example, was \$86. Even allocating a small amount (say, 50¢) of each sale to a worthy organization could generate millions of dollars, if applied to each one of the 32 teams. And that money could be spent on everything from aiding veterans to civics education.

None of this is to suggest that there's any harm in playing the national anthem before sports games on its face. But if fans are going to react so strongly to someone kneeling during it, as if that somehow signals a blow to America itself, it's time to reevaluate how patriotic the gesture really is.

VERBATIM

'Bias and discrimination have no place on Airbnb, and we have zero tolerance for them.'

BRIAN CHESKY,

CEO of Airbnb, responding to a long-standing criticism that it's harder for minority users to rent homes on the service by announcing a comprehensive new nondiscrimination policy



BOOK IN BRIEF

The upside of talking to strangers

IN AMERICA, IT'S COMMON FOR people to avoid strangers—out of fear, discomfort, annoyance or all of the above. But in her new book, *When Strangers Meet*, Kio Stark argues that random encounters can be surprisingly beneficial. Specifically: the kinds that occur when you strike up a casual

conversation with someone in an elevator or ask for directions on the street (though it's important to respect the boundaries of people who clearly don't want to talk). It can be extremely



rewarding—and even intimate—to talk to someone without encountering the kinds of preconceived notions that come with friends and spouses. Moreover, studies show that repeated exposure to and connection with people outside our bubble can make us more accepting of difference. That's good for society in general, Stark writes, because it leads "us away from fear and ... toward openness, cooperation and genuine understanding."

—SARAH BEGLEY

CHARTOON Batman or a jerk?





lies about who he is
lives off his parents' fortune
drives a souped-up 1955 Lincoln Futura
flaunts his expensive gadgets
has a butler in his man cave
backs into parking spaces
punches penguins

JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

BIG IDEA

Furniture you can grow

Why buy lawn furniture when you can grow it? That's the idea behind TERRA!, a line of cardboard skeletons from Italy-based Studio Nucleo that can be filled with dirt, covered with grass seed and—in as little as two months—transformed into backyard seating. The frame ships flat with assembly instructions, and prices start at \$280 for an adult-size armchair like the one below. This is a streamlined version of a product the studio introduced in 2000 but had to scrap because of high production costs; components are now laser-cut to be smaller and easier to assemble.—Julia Zorthian



VIEWPOINT

Why we should watch our internal clocks

By Michael J. Breus

IN OUR RELENTLESS QUEST TO LIVE healthier, happier, more productive lives, we often overlook a powerful tool within us: our internal sense of timing. The human body is genetically designed to coordinate the "when" of almost all aspects of life—sleep, work, sex, even having fun. And we're all wired differently. People with certain lengths of PER3 genes prefer morning activity, while those with other lengths prefer activity later on.

Historically, those differences allowed humans to divide tasks by what they were best suited to. But that's no longer true in an age when artificial light and long-distance travel allow us to divorce ourselves from solar days and nights. Today the timing of our daily events often unfolds with little or no regard for our natural rhythms. This can be annoying, and also unhealthy. Research has shown a connection between misaligned bio times and diseases including obesity and cancer.

There's no easy solution. But simply being aware of your personal clock can help you find the best times for exercise, socializing and even important conversations. In general, it's best to broach serious topics around 5 p.m., because people tend to be in a better mood in the early evening. By 11, though, they tend to be tired, making a heated discussion—and not its resolution—more likely to end up in their long-term memory. These changes might be small, but they can have a transformative effect on health and well-being.

Breus is a board-certified sleep specialist and the author of The Power of When



DATA THIS JUST IN

A roundup of new and noteworthy insights from the week's most talked-about studies:



SOCIAL MEDIA CAN BOOST YOUR MEMORY

A study from Cornell University found that people who posted about events online were more likely to remember those events over time, regardless of how significant they were.



MOST DEPRESSED PEOPLE AREN'T GETTING PROPER TREATMENT

Analysis of a survey of over 46,000 adults published in JAMA Internal Medicine found that less than a third of people who said they were depressed had been treated for their symptoms and that many others who were on antidepressants weren't receiving the appropriate dosage.



MOST PROSTATE-CANCER TREATMENT DOESN'T SAVE LIVES

A landmark study found no difference in survival in men who chose active surveillancemonitoring with no treatment—as opposed to surgery and radiation, which can come with severe side effects. Even though their cancer appeared to progress, men who decided to forgo treatment were no more likely to die of the disease after 10 years.



2. GIVE SCRAPS A SECOND LIFE

Instead of tossing out cuttingboard orphans, get creative with scraps. Turn carrot tops into a pesto, simmer leftover vegetable chunks in a stock (fennel, carrots, onions and even cornstalks work), make croutons out of stale bread, blend browning fruit in a smoothie, cook with old wine.

CARROT-TOP PESTO

2 cups carrot tops 3 tbsp. walnuts or pistachios ½ cup basil 1 garlic clove 2 tsp. salt 3/4 cup olive oil 1/4 cup Parmesan Blend ingredients in a food processor (add more salt or oil as needed). Serve over roasted vegetables, pasta or boiled potatoes. Freeze the leftovers for up to six months.

3. EAT YOUR UGLY VEGETABLES

Anyone who's been to a farmers' market knows that many vegetables come out of the garden in strange shapesbut that doesn't mean they're not plate-worthy. Walmart is expanding its offering of "ugly" produce nationwide. The company sells "Spuglies"—misshapen potatoes—in Texas and weatherdamaged and peculiarly-shaped apples at a discount in Florida.

4. SHOP MORE OFTEN

Stock up on the essentials once a week, then make short trips to the grocer throughout the week for fresh produce. That way, when something prevents you from cooking those greens you thought were a good idea on Sunday, you're not stuck with spoiled food. Gunders also recommends eating perishables like seafood and meat at the start of the week, and other meals like pasta later on.

5. DECODE "BEST BY" DATES

"Best by" and "use by" dates on foods come straight from manufacturers and are an indication of when the company says its product is freshest—not whether or not it is safe to eat. Many foods last far longer than those dates: eggs can stay fresh in the refrigerator for five weeks, apples last 10 times as long when they're kept cold, and milk and cream are safe two to three days past the use-by date. Expiration dates should be heeded, though.

With some vinegar, salt, spices and a jar, you can pickle nearly anything—and extend the life of inexpensive peak-season produce. If you want pickles that last for months outside the fridge, be sure to look online for step-bystep directions to sterilize your jars properly.

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KATHY IRELAND

REAL POSSIBILITIES

How did a world-famous model become a worldwide mogul? She reimagined her life and emerged as a surprisingly powerful figure.

ALWAYS A DREAM

"Business always intrigued me, since I was a little girl," Kathy Ireland recalls. "My first job, I sold painted rocks out of my little red wagon. I actually went into modeling to save money for my own business." Leveraging a late-career modeling gig into a business partnership, Ireland moved from rocks to socks (the aptly foundational item she was asked to model), laying the foundation for what's now a major international company, designing and marketing everything from flooring to pet products, to bridal gowns and wedding destinations.

"The inspiration behind kathy ireland" Worldwide was to offer something of value. Our first product was a single pair of socks. Given my modeling background, everyone thought I should market swimwear, but I wanted to create a real relationship with consumers. I felt if women embraced the socks, we'd know we were onto something."

THE MOTHER OF INVENTION

"The idea to expand the brand was really born at our kitchen table while I was pregnant. I quickly learned how underserved moms are and I wanted to honor that customer on every level," she says. Once she had more customers than socks, she knew it was time to grow. "That was a pivotal moment, because it meant we were connecting with our consumer."

But that connection did not translate into instant success, so she tapped into a strength she'd developed as a model: resilience in the face of discouragement. She and her team slept in airports to save money. But this did not feel hard for her. "Whatever material thing you give up to live your dream is not a sacrifice," she explains. "It's a bold investment."

She soon developed a full line of apparel and, expanding on service to moms and families, broke into the home market. "Back then, people known for other things did not design for the home industry," she says. There were also very few women executives, and some insiders "literally laughed in my face," she says, "I love a good challenge."

BEHIND SUCCESS, QUESTIONS

"When I was younger, I had this shy, quiet, selfish shell," she explains. "In maturity, I've learned that we need to get over ourselves to accomplish what needs to be done. We can never be ruled by fear, comfort, or convenience. Get out of your comfort zone. Embrace opportunities. Figure out what you want and go make it happen. Always dream fearlessly." In seeking out new possibilities, Ireland follows a simple motto. "Ask questions," she advises. "When someone says no, the question is why; when someone says yes, the question is how."







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How outlook and social ties affect the way you age

By Mandy Oaklander

LIFE WAS EASIER WHEN IT wasn't so long: learn when you're young, work while you're able, then resign yourself to a slow period of repose—and decline. But in the past century, scientific advancements have added decades to the average human life span, leaving a person's timeline with a long, often aimless tail.

Finding rewarding ways to fill these extra years particularly in ways that emphasize social ties—is the best way to prolong them, research is finding. "The things that we understand now to be important for healthy longevity"—things like connecting with others, a positive outlook, making peace with getting older-"have been trivialized over the years by some scientists. We now know that shouldn't be the case," says Paul Irving, chairman of the Center for the Future of Aging at the Milken Institute, a think tank that studies older age. "One of the great opportunities we all have is to continue that search [for meaning], that aspiration to do our most enjoyable and important work later in our lives."

Here are other strategies that may help you make the most of your extra years.



EMBRACE TECHNOLOGY

It's hard to beat face time, but FaceTime (and the like) can also help older adults feel less alone, research shows. "I think a lot of work can be done to make the existing social networks more accommodating to older adults," Irving says.



LEAN ON FAMILY

You can't choose them, but now you'll be glad to have them: when people were asked to list up to five of their closest confidants, those who named more family members had a lower chance of dying in the next five years than those who didn't report such strong family bonds. Unconditional love may play a part, since the same protective effect wasn't seen for friendships.



WELCOME AGING

Your feelings about getting older might determine how well you age—and even how well your brain holds up against Alzheimer's. A team of researchers at Yale University found that when people who thought negatively about aging were simply primed to view it in a better light, they said they felt more positively about aging and even showed improvements in physical strength.



LIGHTEN UP

What helps a person live to 100—and stay healthy in the process? New findings reveal that the long-lived have a lot in common: being outgoing, open to new experiences, good at sticking to goals and not overly neurotic. Laughing, too, is a key to staying young in old age, research has found.



SET GOALS, TAKE RISKS

Plenty of research links a sense of purpose to longevity. But how do people search for a purpose if they don't have one? Take an online course, volunteer, do anything new that challenges you. "The assumption that you should only do one thing in your life, to me, makes no sense," says Irving.



EXPECT THE BEST

People with a positive outlook recover better after having a heart attack than those who are more pessimistic, a recent study shows. That's partly because a hopeful attitude is linked to other healthy behaviors, like quitting smoking and maintaining a healthy diet. Optimism is also linked to fewer chronic illnesses, less depression and even a stronger immune response to bugs like the flu.



What comes after for-profit colleges' 'Lehman moment'? Possibly an education crash

By Rana Foroohar

JUST AS THE FALL OF LEHMAN BROTHERS IN 2008 HERALDED a much larger economic crash, the September shuttering of the ITT Technical Institute chain of for-profit colleges signals a broad crisis in higher education. ITT, which taught electronics, computer-based design, criminal justice and other careers to 45,000 Americans last year, had collected \$5 billion in federal aid since 2010. Last month, citing failures of financial responsibility and federal fraud charges, the Department of Education tightened its oversight of ITT by requiring the school to boost its cash reserves. That ultimately led to its shuttering.

For-profit schools are facing a reckoning after years of meteoric growth. Headline-making cases at these schools abound, including the continuing scandal around Trump University and allegations that Donald Trump paid off Florida's attorney general to nix an investigation into possible fraud. The Washington *Post* revealed this month that Bill Clinton took home \$17.6 million to serve as a consultant and "honorary chancellor" of the for-profit college company Laureate International Universities. There are big differences between ITT, Trump U and Laureate, but all underscore the tendrilous nature of the for-profit boom. Since 2000, overall educational outcomes have fallen while debt and student defaults have risen. And for-profits have become ground zero for the student-debt crisis, representing roughly 75% of the increase in student defaults.

THE \$1.2 TRILLION STUDENT-DEBT bubble represents a much smaller part of the consumer-credit market than housing did on the eve of the 2008 financial crisis. And unlike the bad real estate loans that blew up back then, federal student loans aren't typically securitized (though there are some student loan asset-backed securities out there), which limits their ability to trigger a domino effect in the market if borrowers can't pay.

And yet the financial crisis and the student-debt crisis are quite similar. As was the case in subprime real estate, the for-profit education market is opaque: there are no clear (let alone complete) national figures on exactly who's holding all the debt. Borrowers—this time students and their parents—lack an understanding of terms. Thanks to complex and ever shifting aid deals, only a quarter of first-year college students can predict their own debt loads within 10% accuracy. Conflicts of interest are rife because of a revolving door between the Department of Education and both the nonprofit and forprofit education sectors. Meanwhile, higher education has aggressively lobbied, just as financial institutions have, to keep the status quo.

Just as in 2008, it's the economically vulnerable who suf-

LEVERAGED LEARNING



76%
Increase in how much community colleges spent on debt interest annually from 2003 to 2012; the increase for state colleges was 45%



31%
Rise in the cost of going to community college over the past 10 years; the cost increased 40% at state colleges

fer most now. While it's true that a degree ensures something more than a \$15-an-hour future for most graduates, it's no longer a ticket to higher social mobility for the poorest Americans. Many end up in second- or third-tier colleges, going into debt for dubious degrees. As academic A.J. Angulo lays out in his recent history of the for-profit sector, *Diploma Mills*, these schools all too often view students as "annuities" who, via their Pell Grants and loans, can provide a fat and regular profit.

The result is that students get the shaft. In 2009, for example, for-profits spent 17% of their budgets on instruction and 42% on marketing or investor payouts. According to *Ad Age*, that year Apollo Education Group, the parent company of the for-profit University of Phoenix, spent more on advertising than Apple.

FOR-PROFITS ARE STILL a small part of the overall education sector. But from 2010 to 2012 they took more than a quarter of federal aid subsidies and represented nearly half of all defaults. They are also the most troubling part of rising student debt, falling state subsidies for public universities and poor educational outcomes. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development figures put the U.S. third from the bottom among developed nations in gains in education attainment beyond high school. All of which has major consequences for economic growth as jobless, indebted kids move back in with parents, depressing consumption in an economy that depends on it.

In ITT's case, the government may write off loans for current students. Though aimed this time at the right people, this new bailout could end up costing taxpayers \$500 million, according to private student lender Sallie Mae. A real fix will require finding ways to take the money we've been pouring into for-profit schools and use it instead to refashion community college into something like the new high school: free and high quality.

The View In the Arena



Hillary Clinton's biggest stumbles have nothing to do with her health

By Joe Klein

THE IDEA THAT DONALD TRUMP MIGHT BECOME
President of the United States is unthinkable, but it is no longer implausible. Hillary Clinton has made it possible. This is not to say that she will lose. The electoral map and Trump's reflexive ugliness—witless and witting—still favor her. And we're in a pause now before the most crucial events of the campaign: the debates, where I assume her knowledge and demeanor will unmask Trump for the vanity candidate that he is. But Clinton has appeared so wobbly lately—and I'm not talking about her health but her political sense—that she has, amazingly, come to seem an even more wounded candidate than her dreadful opponent.

HER WEEK FROM HELL began with the NBC Commander in Chief forum, where Matt Lauer replayed all the same old questions about her private email server and Clinton seemed unable to extricate herself. She was, as is her wont, ploddingly literal in her response. She could have reminded Lauer that these matters had been litigated to a fare-thee-well, apologized yet again and then teased, "Why don't you ask me about Aleppo, Matt?" Instead, the next morning she held her first press conference since forever. She launched on Trump, calling him every name in the book, from unfit to unqualified. Clinton's staff believes it's important for her to tell people exactly who Trump is, and she has done so, solidly, in three separate speeches this summer. But her daily free-range calumny is undisciplined, diminishing the power of a crucial debate weapon—righteous anger, the ability to shame Trump with a single sentence. Just about all the sentences have been used now. We're numb to them.

But that's just a tactical mistake. Clinton is making a more strategic error that goes to the heart of the DNA of the Democratic Party. She seems to see the American people in groups, as a collection—a "basket," if you must—of grievances, contrary to the strong pretense of optimism conveyed during the Democratic convention. There is no joy to her campaign, no uplift. Her second, more gracious and less remarked upon paragraph about Trump supporters in her "basket of deplorables" speech is a case in point: "That other basket of [supporters] are people who feel that the government has let them down, the economy has let them down, nobody cares about them, nobody worries about what happens to their lives and their futures, and they're just desperate for change."

Or maybe not. Maybe they're just people who think the government has been too active, intrusive and incompetent, trying to solve every problem. Maybe they're looking for a

SHE SAID, SHE SAID

"You could put half of Trump's supporters into what I call the basket of deplorables"



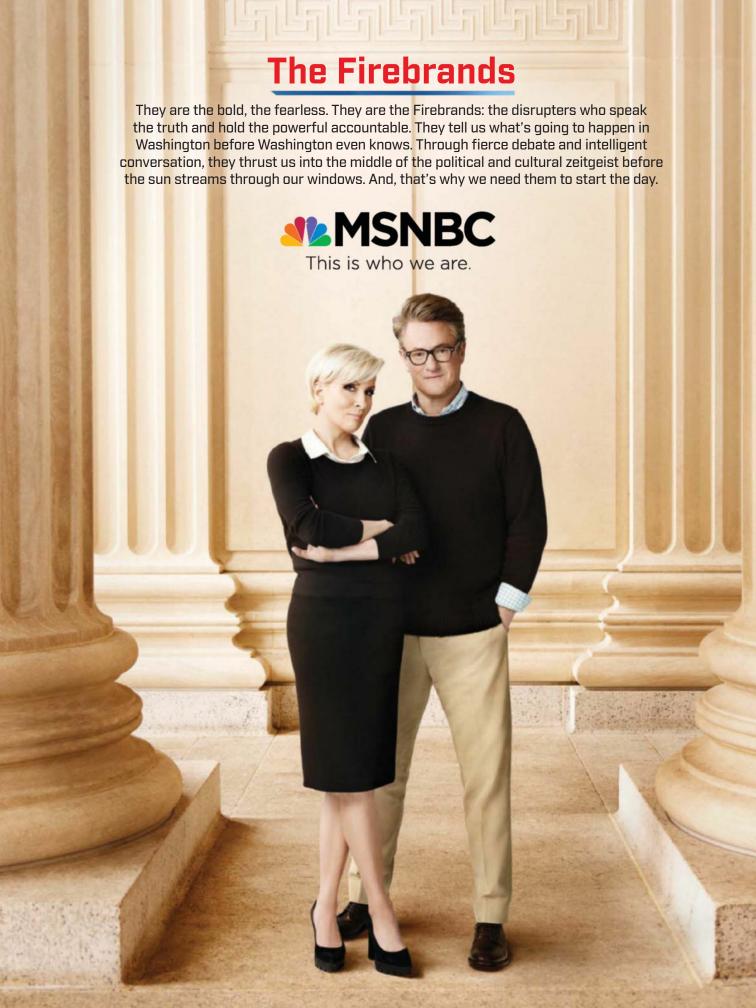
"That other basket of [supporters] are people who feel that the government has let them down."

HILLARY CLINTON, at an LGBT fundraiser in New York City on Sept. 9 candidate who celebrates hard work, and the success that usually comes of it. There is room for such a candidate this year.

BUT OPTIMISM IS AN ILL FIT for latter-day Democrats and especially, it seems, for Clinton. She actually blames her disastrous caution and mediaphobia on the pressures of trying to succeed as a professional woman: "I had to learn as a young woman to control my emotions," she has said. No doubt, it wasn't easy to be a female lawyer in Arkansas, even if your husband was the governor. But there are plenty of women who survived and thrived—Elizabeth Warren and Michelle Obama come to mind—and managed to maintain their ebullience, despite the sexist obstacles in their way.

That's another American truth that comes hard to Democrats: Most people do O.K. in this society. Most blacks are doing better than they were 50 years ago, as are professional women and LGBT-community members. Most Americans, when faced with an obstacle, like the loss of a manufacturing job, will work to overcome it. They will go back to community college and learn a necessary trade, like welding or electronics. They are happy for government help with their tuition, and they are less than patient with those people who don't make the effort. They don't buy "society is against me" excuses.

Both Trump and Clinton have emphasized obstacles, not opportunities, in this campaign. Trump's pessimism is a strategy: it's what demagogues do. Clinton, by assuming near universal aggrievement, has presented a false view of what this country—in its fabulous diversity and entrepreneurial vigor—is all about. It's a significant misinterpretation of who her audience is. Clinton is no weakling; she's proved her public toughness, perhaps to a fault. But there is a clenched quality to her campaign that has now become a major problem. She is an unhappy warrior in a country that, contrary to the prevailing blather, is not an unhappy place.



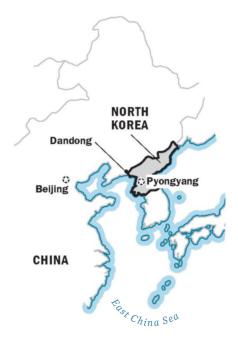




But even stronger sanctions have failed to weaken Kim's belligerence. On Sept. 9, North Korea conducted its fifth nuclear test-the largest to date, with a yield of some 10 to 20 kilotons, comparable to the Hiroshima bomb. Worse, unlike in earlier tests the bomb was described as a "nuclear device," which suggests the North is moving closer to being able to miniaturize a nuclear weapon and put it in a missile. The test prompted worldwide condemnation, and President Barack Obama reiterated that "the United States does not, and never will, accept North Korea as a nuclear state." But it's become increasingly clear that the one country that might be able to stop that from happening—China, North Korea's only ally—won't take the necessary hard steps. "The Chinese endgame is the survival of North Korea as a state and leveraging whatever benefits they can along the border," says Adam Cathcart, an East Asia expert at Britain's University of Leeds. Which means the next U.S. President may be forced to deal with a far more dangerous North Korea.

THE KOREAN PENINSULA has been a hot spot for decades. Pyongyang routinely threatens to turn Seoul and U.S. cities into "seas of fire," and, in recent years, has sunk a South Korean naval ship and shelled South Korean islands. Attempts to coax better behavior with aid have failed dismally. Since six-party denuclearization talks were suspended in 2009, Pyongyang's pariah status has only deepened, even as its nuclear-weapons program has matured. In 2016 alone, the regime has already conducted two nuclear tests and 20 missile tests, and analysts believe the North has the ability and atomic material to test another nuke at any moment. No amount of U.S. carrot or stick has reduced the regime's truculence. "Both internally and externally, North Korea always resolves any kind of political dispute through violence or the threat of violence," says Daniel Pinkston, an East Asia expert at Seoul's Troy University.

Nearby South Korea and Japan are most immediately at risk from a nuclear-armed North Korea, though last year analysts at the U.S.-Korea Institute concluded that by 2020, Pyongyang could field an intercontinental ballistic missile capable of reaching the continental U.S. But Kim's intransigence has become an



increasing problem for China. On July 7, Seoul and Washington announced that South Korea would host the U.S. Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) anti-ballistic-missile system. Also known as hit-to-kill technology, THAAD batteries have no payload but destroy enemy missiles by colliding with them at high velocity. THAAD is designed to help protect the U.S., Japan and parts of South Korea from North Korean attacks. But Beijing—already tangling with Washington over the South China Sea-sees the deployment of THAAD on the Korean peninsula as a direct threat. "China believes the development of THAAD puts its hegemony at risk," says Cheong Seongchang, senior fellow at the Sejong Institute, a Seoul think tank.

For the U.S., THAAD could protect troops in the field, but potentially at the expense of alienating the only country that may be able to alter North Korean behavior. Pyongyang and Beijing had been at odds-Kim and Chinese President Xi Jinping have yet to meet, even as Xi has assiduously cultivated South Korean President Park Geun-hye, and there was no Chinese official at North Korea's oncein-a-generation Workers' Party Congress in May, where Kim assumed the role of party chairman. But representatives from the Chinese military and security services reportedly visited North Korea July 27 to mark Korean War Victory Day, hinting at a thaw in Chinese-North Korean relations after the THAAD deployments.

Yet what might be even more worrying than a Chinese-North Korean rapprochement is the possibility that even

Beijing's influence over Pyongyang is limited. Pyongyang's latest satellite launch coincided with China's sacrosanct Spring Festival holiday in February, and its most recent nuclear test followed immediately after the September G-20 meeting in the Chinese city of Hangzhou. "I don't think Beijing has any effective influence over Pyongyang," says Shi Yinhong, professor of international relations at Beijing's Renmin University. "North Korea keeps trying to embarrass China."

MAO ZEDONG FAMOUSLY SAID that China and North Korea were as close "as lips and teeth," and his eldest son died fighting for the North in the Korean War. But North Korea's founding father Kim Il Sung's guiding principle of *juche*, or patriotic self-reliance, meant that his nation would never be anyone's puppet. Kim was a masterful puppeteer himself, playing his Chinese and Soviet benefactors off each other during the Cold War like two feuding parents.

Now only the Chinese parent remains, and familial ties have soured. To Beijing, the North Koreans are dangerous renegades, while the North Koreans resent Beijing's market reforms, believing ostensibly communist China has become a capitalist traitor. "As overseas Chinese, we were not welcome in North Korea," says one Pyongyang-born ethnic Chinese trader in Dandong. "It was impossible for me to join the army or even go to university. So after I graduated from high school, I moved to China."

Yet continued Chinese support for North Korea has never really been in doubt, for two key reasons: Pyongyang's fall would rob Beijing of a buffer against a U.S.-allied united Korea. And secondly, the collapse of the Kim regime would almost certainly send a ruinous flood of millions of refugees north into China.

North Korea's race for the bomb has shifted that paradigm somewhat, prompting Beijing to carefully turn up the pressure on its wayward neighbor. U.N. sanctions passed in March impose new restrictions on North Korean shipping and banking, and prohibit the sale of supplies such as aviation fuel that could have a military purpose. But having China on board means its effects have been far broader. Sipping fruit tea in a Dandong florist-cum-café, one trader describes



how his business importing North Korean coal and minerals and exporting building materials has been eviscerated by the sanctions. "North Korean traders don't have cash anymore," he says. "I have to limit the amount of goods I sell to them on credit as the risk of default is so high."

The very fact that North Korea can be hit by sanctions points to how the country has changed. While his grandfather and father ruthlessly cracked down on private enterprise, Kim Jong Un has been more selective. Currency-wiring services are flourishing, thanks to a loosening of controls, with thousands of North Korean defectors in South Korea sending a steady stream of cash back home. But maintaining this trajectory requires Chinese support. China has long courted North Korea to follow its example and embrace market reforms, thus providing a forum for engagement and influence. "Nothing would please Beijing more than to see North Korea move in this kind of economic development mode," says John Delury, associate professor of Chinese studies at Yonsei University in Seoul.

Yet there's a limit to how much North Korea will change. Just six miles (10 km) from Dandong, a new \$350 million suspension bridge spans the Yalu River, with freshly sealed road flanked by gleaming traffic markings. An entire free-trade zone of shops, warehouses and a pastel forest of 20-story apartment buildings has been built on the Chinese side. But for the most part these shops lie empty, as the North Koreans have done nothing on their side of the river—no customs buildings, duty free shops, offices. The bridge plunges

abruptly into fallow cornfields. "They built this zone for cross-border trade, but there is so little that only local businesses occupy the lots," says Su Li, owner of a furniture warehouse in the trade zone.

PYONGYANG'S ISOLATIONISM MEANS it has devised darker ways to bring in foreign capital. Supplies of narcotics, particularly crystal meth, and counterfeit pharmaceuticals and currency continue to be smuggled into China. Yu Dong-yeol, director of the Korea Institute of Liberal Democracy in Seoul, told a defense security conference on July 7 that Pyongyang runs 6,800 professional hackers, engaged in fraud and blackmail, and an online gambling ring that together generate annual revenue of \$860 million. The 2014 hack of Sony Pictures in response to The Interview, which lampooned Kim, would seem to demonstrate this communist fossil's surprising technological prowess.

The regime is also dispatching workers abroad. About 50,000 to 60,000 North Koreans labor in factories, fields and restaurants—most commonly in China, but also in Russia and the Middle East. Their below-standard wages are collected directly by the regime, with only a fraction reaching the workers themselves. Assorted North Korean government departments run around 130 restaurants in foreign cities such as Beijing, Yangon, Dhaka, Vladivostok and Phnom Penh. Dandong has many, with the largest employing more than 200 North Korean staff.

These establishments demonstrate that China is engaged in half measures at best against Pyongyang. Beijing could

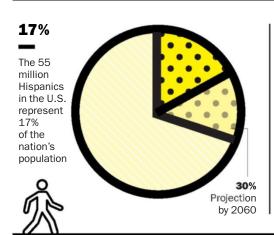
send all North Korean workers home. which would cut off a vital source of currency. Foreign labor is worth \$300 million to the regime annually, according to the Seoul-based Database Center for North Korean Human Rights. Supplies of luxury goods like flatscreen televisions and DVD players-key to keeping the North's military elite in line—could also be blocked. More crucially, Beijing could suspend the half-a-million tons of crude oil that flows each year through the pipeline located near Dandong. These are options Washington would like to see on the table. Speaking at the close of the ASEAN summit on Sept. 8, Obama said of China's Xi that "if THAAD bothered him ... they need to work with us more effectively to change Pyongyang's behavior."

In response to the latest nuclear test, Hillary Clinton advocated dialogue with Pyongyang, similar to the negotiations with Iran over its (far less advanced) nuclear program. Her Republican opponent, Donald Trump, has previously also vowed to cut "a good deal" with the Kim regime. But it's possible that little can be done in Washington to stop the North from pursuing nuclear weapons. According to Troy University's Pinkston, North Korea sees nuclear capability as a "necessary condition for economic development and prosperity." It's simple realpolitik. Kim is aware of the fate of Libya's Muammar Gaddafi and Iraq's Saddam Hussein, two autocrats who abandoned their pursuit of nuclear weapons under international pressure only to be overthrown in the end. For him, an atomic bomb is an equalizer, securing his family's legacy while forcing the global community to treat Pyongyang as an equal. "They think it brings respect and prestige," says Pinkston.

In truth it brings neither, though it does guarantee something more important to Kim: security—albeit security that only the regime enjoys. The millions of ordinary North Koreans across the Yalu River are still living in unimaginable poverty and Stalinist oppression. Just days after the latest nuclear test, North Korea was hit by a flood so devastating that it had to make a rare public appeal for help. Kim has played his hand well, splitting his enemy the U.S. and his ally China. But the North Korean people are still losing. They always do. —With additional reporting by ZHANG CHI/DANDONG

Business

How Latinos Drive nerica's

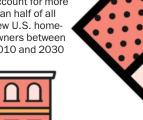


\$1.3 trillion In 2015, U.S. Hispanics controlled \$1.3 trillion in buying power—equal to the GDP of Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala and El Salvador combined.

52%

Hispanics are projected to account for more than half of all new U.S. homeowners between 2010 and 2030





By Tessa Berenson

VICTORIA FLORES KNOWS HER MARKET, "EVERY girl wears hair," she says as she brushes the synthetic extensions that were just clipped into a beauty blogger's long bleached locks. "I don't care if she's white, black or Latina."

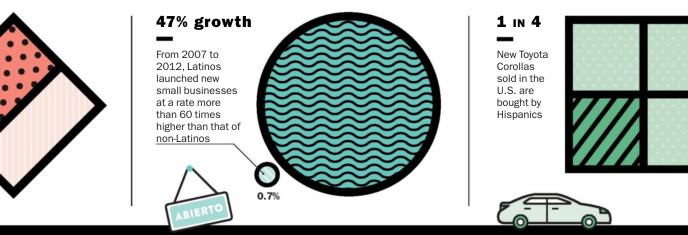
Flores, 42, is working in an airy space in midtown Manhattan, three floors above a perfume outlet and a row of cluttered costume-jewelry stores. As a late summer sun beats down on the vendors below. Flores hustles back and forth across the office in white skinny jeans and wedge heels, trying to keep her own business afloat. Flores is the founding co-owner of Lux Beauty Club, an online hair-extension retailer, and since she launched her company in March 2016, life has run at warp speed. Flores, who is of Mexican descent and was born in El Paso, Texas, used to work on Wall Street as an associate at Morgan Stanley Prime Brokerage. Now her days revolve around hair: buying it, selling it and constantly trying to raise more capital so she can keep sending it out to women who think that getting new extensions is, as she puts it, "better than any paycheck."

All this makes Flores something of an unsung symbol of the times: she belongs to the fastestgrowing group of small-business owners in the U.S. From 2007 to 2012, Latinos launched small businesses at a pace more than 60 times that of their non-Latino counterparts, according to the Stanford Latino Entrepreneurship Initiative. Latinas like Flores are making their own contributions to that boom: according to the 2016 State of Women-Owned Businesses Report, the number of Latinaowned businesses in the U.S. has grown by 137% over the past nine years-outpacing all other categories of minority women.

One might get a very different impression, however, by listening to the political debate in the U.S. To hear Donald Trump explain it, Latino immigrants are a drag on the economy. "They're taking our manufacturing jobs. They're taking our money. They're killing us," he said at a rally in 2015. According to a 2016 Pew Research poll, 59% of Americans say immigrants strengthen the country, while 33% say they are a burden. But this diverges along partisan lines, with 78% of Democrats saying they strengthen the nation and just 35% of Republicans agreeing. After the founder of Latinos for Trump warned that too many Mexican immigrants would result in "taco trucks on every corner," the U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce—which endorsed Hillary Clinton in July, the first time the group has ever come out for a presidential candidate—vowed to park one at every polling place instead.

The reality is Latinos make up about 17% of the U.S. population and pump an estimated \$1.3 trillion into the economy each year. They also represent about 15% of the country's workforce. (Undocumented immigrants, encompassing all countries of origin, total about 5%.) Far from being a distraction or a

rowth





drag, Latinos are providing crucial growth in the U.S. economy. This fall, in a \$75.8 billion back-to-school market, Latinos planned to spend 16% more per household than the rest of the nation, according to the National Retail Federation. And the numbers are growing: they will likely become 30% of the nation's population by 2060. Warns Henry Cisneros, former Secretary of Housing and Urban Development: "Failure to mainstream this population, failure to give vent to their entrepreneurial instincts and let them run businesses, failure to finance them so they can borrow and invest and consume and build, is a huge missed opportunity for the United States."

ONE REASON LATINOS may be more willing than others to gamble on a new business is that so many have already taken considerable risks—whether to get to the U.S. in the first place or just to get ahead. Compared with the risks of crossing a border or merely enduring the hardships that can still result from belonging to a minority group in the country, the uncertainty of starting a business seems almost negligible. "You generally come [to the country] with fewer resources," says Sol Trujillo, former CEO of Telstra, Orange and US West. "Therefore you have to be more risk-taking, more entrepreneurial, and you generally have to work harder."

Despite their booming growth, Latino-owned businesses are typically smaller than others. A new Census survey of entrepreneurs found that in 2014, the average Hispanic-owned company had sales of about \$1.1 million; white-owned firms averaged about \$2.4 million. It's a gap that Trujillo and other business leaders attribute to a dearth of mentoring available to new Latino business owners. "If you were going to look and say what's the biggest thing, it's access to networks," says Remy Arteaga, executive director of the Latino Business Action Network, of the challenges facing Latino entrepreneurs. "That also means access to resources, access to talent for employees and access to mentors."

Still, in 2012, Latino-owned businesses employed 2.5 million workers, according to the Stanford study, a number that has likely grown since. Flores employs four people at Lux Beauty Club. She doesn't have the old-boy network with ties to deep pockets that other startup owners might enjoy. But she hopes to expand through partnerships with other companies and by wooing beauty bloggers like Hadley Darag, who was in the office to film a promotional video on the day that TIME paid a visit. "It's about being scrappy," Flores explains, "but it's about the community really helping each other, and that's important because I want another woman like me to also start her own business."

THE PATTERN is repeated in real estate. From 2000 to 2014, Hispanics accounted for about half of the



31%

Percentage of businesses owned by Hispanics in South Florida



\$784.69

Projected back-to-school spending by the average Hispanic household this year, outpacing the overall household average of \$673.57



137%

The increase in Latina-owned businesses in the past nine years, a larger rise than that of any other women-owned minority group in the U.S.

SOURCES: CENSUS
BUREAU; NIELSEN; URBAN
INSTITUTE; STANFORD LATINO
ENTREPRENEURSHIP INITIATIVE;
TOYOTA; NATIONAL RETAIL
FEDERATION; AMERICAN EXPRESS
OPENS; WORLD BANK

growth in homeownership in the U.S., according to the National Association of Hispanic Real Estate Professionals (NAHREP). In 2014 alone, Hispanics were responsible for 40% of homeownership growth, the largest share among any racial or ethnic group.

Banks have taken note. "We could see the growth happening around us," says John Stumpf, CEO of Wells Fargo. "It was one of those just obvious things." To that end, Wells Fargo announced a goal of lending \$125 billion to Hispanic home buyers over the next 10 years. As part of its outreach, the bank is working on ways to make loans more accessible to immigrant families. Brad Blackwell, head of portfolio lending for Wells Fargo Home Mortgage, says the bank has encountered many Hispanic families that have multiple generations living together and contributing to household wealth, but traditional loan programs typically count only the incomes of the two people applying for the mortgage. A new Wells Fargo program would factor in that extended-household income to increase the chance of loan approval.

"Hispanic families very much want to be homeowners in this country and are going to do the things that they need to do," Blackwell says. For Wells Fargo, the shift in strategy was both a virtue and a necessity. In 2012, it agreed to pay \$175 million to settle a lawsuit alleging that it discriminated against African-American and Hispanic borrowers. Stumpf said those loans originated with outside lenders and had "nothing to do with the loans that we were originating through our team." (In an unrelated case, Wells Fargo was slammed on Sept. 8 with \$185 million in fines in a settlement over creating accounts that consumers didn't authorize.)

Overall, homeownership rates for Latinos are still lower than those for non-Hispanic whites. There are reasons for that. Latino households have lower median incomes in the U.S. relative to others, and they're denied home loans at a rate that is 5 percentage points higher than the average, according to Harvard's Joint Center for Housing Studies. But trends point to improvement: the Urban Institute predicts that Hispanics will account for 52% of new homeowners between 2010 and 2030. While states like California, Texas and Florida still account for the largest numbers of Hispanic homeowners, Gary Acosta, CEO of NAHREP, says markets in Iowa and Wisconsin are experiencing the greatest growth. "The home is the center of the Latino family and the Latino culture," he says. "So the desire for homeownership among the Latino population is really more powerful than most people recognize."

IN THE STANDARD PORTRAIT of the American Dream, there's at least one car parked in the driveway. A study by Viant, an advertising-technology company owned by TIME's parent company, found that in 2015, Hispanic consumers accounted for

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\$27.9 billion in registered new-vehicle transactions in the U.S., about 11% of the total market. Hispanic purchases of luxury cars rose 16% from 2013 to 2015, compared with 5% growth among non-Hispanics in the same period.

Car companies have retooled their marketing to reflect where the growth is. Some 73% of Toyota's U.S. sales growth in 2015 came from Hispanics, who buy 1 of every 4 Corollas in the country. Toyota created a Hispanic Business Strategy Group in 2013 dedicated to cultivating and retaining the growing pool of buyers. "Every 30 seconds, two non-Hispanics reach retirement age, while a Hispanic potential Toyota customer turns 18," says Patricia Pineda, vice president of the group. To recruit these potential young buyers, Pineda makes sure that Toyota attends major Latino conferences each year, including one held by the U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce and another that promotes Hispanic social-media stars.

Toyota isn't alone. More than 60% of Honda's growth in 2015 came from Hispanic buyers. Gina Jorge, head of multicultural marketing at Honda, has been wooing those customers by emphasizing what she calls an "aspirational spirit" in advertising. A 2015 Spanish-language ad for the Honda CR-V featured a young girl dreaming of being an astronaut, a story that wasn't told in the car's English-language ads. At the same time, *Advertising Age* found that spending in the Hispanic media market grew by 12% in 2014, far more than the estimated 4.9% growth for major-media ad spending overall. The 50 biggest

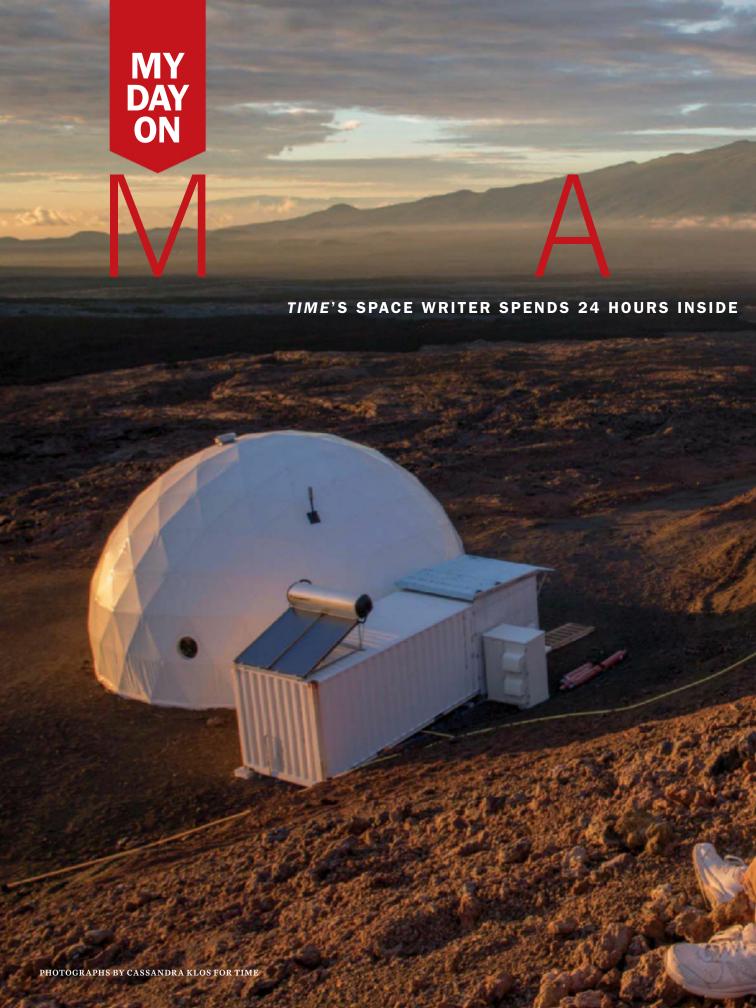
"If we're successful, we show our community and younger girls, not just Latinas but from other ethnic groups, they can do it as well."

victoria FLores, co-owner of Lux Beauty Club advertisers to Hispanics increased their spending that year by 17.6%, to \$3.8 billion.

The retailer Target, says senior vice president of marketing Rick Gomez, is "keenly focused on leaning into Hispanic insights" around style, beauty and baby products, areas he identified as having the greatest potential for further growth with those consumers. Target released its first style commercial created specifically for Latinas in 2016 and boosted its marketing to the community by 20%. Data backs up Gomez's claim: a 2015 Nielsen report found that sales in several beauty categories—including cosmetics, hair care, personal-care appliances and shaving needs—declined overall in the U.S. the previous year even as sales increased in Hispanic households.

Which explains in part why Flores at Lux Beauty Club is so busy. "There are so many different types of Latinas. They don't all look like me," she says. "There's Dominican Latinas, there's Puerto Rican Latinas, there's dark, light. We're all different colors and have different hair textures. So we want to be able to buy products that speak to us."

After Flores' guest, beauty guru Darag, finishes applying her extensions and teaching her nearly 40,000 Instagram followers how to style them, Flores briefly joins her on camera. The two women blow a kiss and sign off with Darag's signature catchphrase, "Stay beautiful." When the camera cuts, Flores pecks Darag on the cheek and gives her encouragement: "That was awesome!" Then she whirls down the hallway to her next meeting.







There were two things on Mars that seemed to be working hard to kill me: the lava tube and the omelette. I couldn't decide which was worse.

I encountered the lava tube at the end of a 10-minute walk from my simulated Martian habitat, when I crested a ridge and turned my helmeted head down. Below was a basin about four stories deep and at least as wide across. At the center of it was a smaller, darker hole carved by molten lava that had long since flowed away. One wrong step in my clunky space boot and I could tumble straight down the geological drain.

Prudently, I backed away and returned to the station, and it was there that the omelette happened. I had volunteered to make a late lunch for myself and my two crewmates, and the ingredients on hand included bright yellow powdered eggs with dehydrated cheddar and Parmesan cheese. I mixed those things with enough water to make the dish vaguely egglike

and cooked it with a little oil in a pan on a hot plate. That, eventually, yielded the "omelette." It was "delicious."

It was my great fortune that my time on Mars wasn't spent on the real Mars but 8,200 ft. (2,500 m) up on the ruddy red flank of the Mauna Loa volcano in Hawaii. It was also my good fortune that my visit lasted only 24 hours. Other folks weren't so lucky.

Just a few days earlier, a team of six scientists, engineers and aspiring astronauts had completed a full year in the simulated Mars habitat, known as HI-SEAS (Hawaii Space Exploration Analog and Simulation). The facility—which features a 1,200 sq. ft. (110 sq m) dome, equipped with a 424 sq. ft. (40 sq m) sleeping loft, two small bathrooms, a compact kitchen and a larder stocked with shelf-stable foods—is co-managed by NASA and the University of Hawaii.

Technically speaking, the crew could go outside for Mars walks (officially called extravehicular activity, or EVA) but they could do so only in full-body spacesuits. They could communicate with Mission Control and family members, but only via email or text—and they had to do so with a 20-minute one-way delay to simulate the light-time lag that exists between Mars and Earth. The reason for such strict protocols: for scientists to better understand how long-term, no-break space travel affects the human mind.

"If you're claustrophobic, if you don't like people, if you can't adapt to a new environment, if you're a picky eater, you shouldn't do this," said Christiane Heinicke, the crew physicist, shortly after the team emerged into a chilly Mauna Loa mist on the morning of Aug. 28.

Three HI-SEAS crews have gone before Heinicke's, but no other mission lasted as long. Two former missions went for four months and one went eight. With this longer mission, researchers hope to come closer to understanding what makes a person mentally fit for the minimum two years of travel that would be required to send people to and from Mars.

Scientists already know how to build a spacecraft capable of making it to Mars, and thanks to more than 50 years of launching unmanned Mars probes, they know how to fly the route. Researchers are also learning more about how the body adapts to long-duration spaceflight,

thanks in part to the year astronaut Scott Kelly and cosmonaut Mikhail Kornienko recently spent aboard the International Space Station. Still, the effects of longterm space travel on the mind remains something of a mystery.

For as long as scientists have been studying human behavior, they have looked at how we respond to ICE—isolated, confined and extreme—environments. Mars certainly qualifies: from the Red Planet, Earth would be reduced to just one more starry point in the sky, and the journey home would take a minimum of eight months.

"NASA needs to understand what happens with numerous teams for really long periods," says Steve Kozlowski, an organizational psychologist at Michigan State University and a HI-SEAS researcher. "Only then can we know what to expect from a real Mars crew."

TWELVE DIFFERENT RESEARCH TEAMS have been conducting studies on this HI-SEAS mission, trying to understand stress management, workload, depression, group dynamics and more. They're also investigating crew cohesion—and in my

brief stay, I got a quick taste of why that's so important.

I spent my Martian day with Arthur Cunningham, a member of the HI-SEAS support team from the University of Hawaii, and photographer Cassandra Klos. Did I love having Arthur's well-curated Pandora channel on in the background as we went about our indoor work? I did. Did I appreciate the fact that after my omelette fiasco, Cassie offered to handle dinner and, through some hocus pocus, conjured up a pasta sauce that nearly made me swoon? I definitely did. But suppose things had gone differently?

Being mindful of your fellow interplanetary travelers is essential. For instance, Cyprien Verseux, the HI-SEAS team's astrobiologist, learned to play the ukulele when the crew was in lockdown, but would practice it in a cold and uncomfortable lab trailer connected to the main habitat, so as not to disturb the rest of the crew. (In the main dome, there is no soundproofing.) But imagine having to live with death metal being played so loudly you can hear it even through somebody else's earbuds. Imagine someone who gripes about a team member's



Kluger, left, and Cunningham collect rocks on a ridge near the habitat. HI-SEAS crews conduct geological research in Hawaii—always fully suited when outside









Clockwise from top left: Crews test how plants grow in simulated Mars soil; the treadmill provides exercise and a porthole view outside; the loft area has six small bedrooms and a bathroom; crew members have side-by-side workstations

cooking but doesn't offer to take over for the next meal.

Friction among crew members has occurred on all of the HI-SEAS missions, and sometimes the solution has been the opposite of the talk-it-out strategy used in many workplaces. "Usually, you can be open with someone and walk away and blow off steam, but you can't do that in the hab, where you still have to sit and stare at the other person," says University of South Florida organizational

psychologist Wendy Bedwell, another HI-SEAS researcher. "What worked for one team was for some crew members simply to avoid each other for a while. They'd say, 'O.K., Jack can't work with Jane today."

Outdoor time was important too. "I went 21 days without an EVA once," says environmental scientist and mission commander Carmel Johnson. "And then I went crazy." She stresses that she means that figuratively, but that's not a qualifier most people would be able to add.

My two EVAs were partly (O.K., mostly) about playing spaceman. Still, before I ventured out I learned two important bits of code: "Pan-pan," which means non-life-threatening danger, and "Mayday," which means what you think. Had I slipped, my moment at the ravine could have been a Mayday, and to my surprise, the exhausting trek up the hill in the Hawaii heat and the heavy spacesuit felt like it could have been a Mayday too.

Even if my excursions were mostly for fun, the HI-SEAS teams' are not. They are sent out on simulated geology expeditions—that's what they'd be doing on the real Mars, after all—because the combination of having a scientific purpose and being able to walk in a straight line without hitting the habitat wall can be vital to emotional well-being.

IN THE EVENT OF PROBLEMS, HI-SEAS crew physician Sheyna Gifford had a small infirmary on-site that allowed her to handle routine illnesses and injuries. But for a serious problem, a crew member would have to be evacuated. On Mars, that isn't an option. "There are 500 things you'd have to know how to treat, from headaches to hemorrhoids," she says. "But cardiovascular collapse is not on the list—because you're done."

Then there are the more primal matters required by simulated space travel, like the flushless, composting toilets (which you can't avoid even during a one-day stay) and the chilly, two-minute showers (which I could—and did—spare myself). For the one-year HI-SEAS mission, there were no showers at all for two weeks after a water pump broke; mission engineer Andrzej Stewart and architect Tristan Bassingthwaighte had to work to get it running again.

None of those minor hardships compare with what would be the epochal achievement of getting people on Mars—just as my 24 hours on faux Mars were nothing next to the year the HI-SEAS crew completed or the two-plus years a real Mars journey would take. But exploration has always been about incrementalism, learning how to do small, deliberate things before attempting a big and transformative thing. The work being done in a hab in Hawaii brings that very big achievement an important step closer.



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CONTENT FROM









NO LATE-NIGHT-TV COMEDIAN ATTACKS THE JOB with more righteous intensity than Samantha Bee. Once a week on her TBS show Full Frontal, she stands before a wall of video monitors, feet planted shoulder-width apart, neck muscles tensed, leaning forward like a panther getting ready to pounce. She talks fast, racing to pack a week's worth of outrage into one high-voltage half hour. She has a flair for the baroque insult, calling Donald Trump, at various times, a "tangerine-tinted trash-can fire," "sociopathic 70-year-old toddler," "screaming carrot demon" and "America's burst appendix." The Republican National Convention, for Bee, was "a poorly attended rage-athon featuring a parade of hemorrhoidal has-beens." Sometimes the fury leaves her nearly speechless. After playing a clip of Trump's debate-night boast about the size of his private parts, Bee is shown wielding a squeegee on a blurry camera lens: "Sorry, let me just wipe the vomit off..."

Bee launched her show in February after 12 years as a correspondent on Jon Stewart's *The Daily Show*, and the fervor of her advocacy has already outstripped that of her mentor. "Jon worked really hard to try to be nonpartisan," says Bee. "It was important to him. But for me, a fatigue sets in. You just see the same patterns repeating themselves. I don't care that much about being nonpartisan. Now that I have my own show, I get to say what's in my heart."

These days her heart is fearful of a Trump presidency. "It was funnier when they were all on that stage," she says of the Republican-primary candidates. "Now that we've come down to Trump, it's less funny with every passing moment. In fact, I've lost all sense of what's funny about Donald Trump. Now I feel that it's a pressing concern."

In his 16 years as host of Comedy Central's nightly satirical newscast, Stewart brought political savvy, journalistic rigor and bite to the old pastime of topical satire on late-night TV. His retirement from the

'Trump is a
Magic 8
Ball. Shake
it up and
you get one
answer.
Shake it
again and
you get
something
completely
different.'

—SETH MEYERS

show in the summer of 2015—along with Stephen Colbert's departure from *The Colbert Report* to take over David Letterman's *Late Show* on CBS—came as a blow to a generation of viewers who relied on the two shows for insightful news analysis as much as for entertainment. But the shake-up, abetted by the craziest presidential campaign in modern memory, has had an unexpected and largely unappreciated payoff. It has triggered an extreme makeover for political satire, which is now more ubiquitous, more pointed, more passionate and often more partisan than ever before.

Alumni of *The Daily Show* have metastasized across the dial. Along with Bee and Colbert, they include John Oliver, who vents about current events on HBO's *Last Week Tonight*, and Trevor Noah, who replaced Stewart on the flagship *Daily Show* last September. (Larry Wilmore, *The Daily Show's* former "senior black correspondent," took over Colbert's old time slot on Comedy Central before a surprise cancellation last month.) More traditional network talk-show hosts, too, are showing newfound political muscle—especially NBC's Seth Meyers and ABC's Jimmy Kimmel—joining HBO's 14-year-old comedic political talk show *Real Time with Bill Maher*.

Their weapons are parody and polemics, dripping sarcasm and cheap-shot one-liners, video compilation reels and schoolyard taunts. Their satiric arrows are aimed, nearly always, from the left flank of the political battlefield. Several were born abroad, giving them a fresh perspective on the increasingly vitriolic U.S. political scene. As their best bits circulate online and get picked up by TV pundits and campaign operatives alike, they help drive the political debate. They are doing journalism too—in many cases ahead of actual journalists. It took Oliver to investigate, back in March, just how much Trump's oft-touted wall on the Mexican border would actually cost. (More than \$25 billion, according to his careful analysis—over twice as much as Trump's highest estimate.)

Late night turns left

A look at seven hosts' most watched political clips on YouTube reveals a tectonic shift in political humor



Impersonation



Foibles are spoofed



Statements are fact-checked



Comparison to despot



Subject's behavior provokes call for action



1982 The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson

"Hu Is on the Phone"

As Ronald Reagan, Carson mocks the Gipper's doddering persona in an update of "Who's on First." Reagan is bewildered by Interior Secretary James Watt, Yasser Arafat and a fictional Chinese leader, Chung Dong Hu.



2007 Late Show With David Letterman

"President George W. Bush"

Letterman "interviews" mimic Frank Caliendo, who plays Bush as a dim-witted frat boy. Of his 36% approval rating, Bush says, "It's still more than half." He also accepts blame for mistakes because "the Buick stops here."



2015 The Daily Show With Trevor Noah

"Donald Trump: America's African President"

In Trump, Noah sees reflections of strongmen like Idi Amin, Robert Mugabe and Muammar Gaddafi. "Donald Trump is presidential," Noah says. "He just happens to be running on the wrong continent." "I do think we are in an era where people come to expect, or become comfortable with, hosts of latenight shows having a strong point of view," says Meyers, former anchor of *Saturday Night Live*'s "Weekend Update." "It probably took me a year or a year and a half of doing this show before I felt comfortable sharing that point of view. And I think this election served as the catalyst."

POLITICAL COMEDY ON TV used to be a polite, easy-listening affair. Longtime *Tonight Show* host Johnny Carson—along with his chief heirs in late night, Jay Leno and David Letterman—poked plenty of fun at political figures, but mainly for their personal foibles, both real and comically exaggerated: Gerald Ford's clumsiness, Ronald Reagan's age, Bill Clinton's appetites. No obvious political agenda, nothing to offend either side—just a gentle brew to help you process the day's news and drift to sleep with a smile.

The hosts weren't always as apolitical as they appeared. Letterman in particular, with his constant needling of politicians like Sarah Palin and Mitt Romney, allowed his left-of-center leanings to peek through toward the end of his run. Carson and Leno played it straighter, but their tolerant-centrist orientation (sympathetic to gays and other minorities, scornful of the religious right) struck some conservatives as liberal bias. Yet all three disavowed partisan agendas, often welcoming as guests the same public figures—from Bill Clinton to Donald Trump—whom they lampooned on other nights.

Stewart and Colbert were groundbreakers, but even they tempered their political edge with ironic distance and a concern for balance. Colbert couched his views in the put-on character of a right-wing Bill O'Reilly type. Stewart aimed his barbs less at conservative pols than at the Fox News pundits who enabled them.

But the game has changed, thanks largely to the

ket of deplorables" remark and her campaign's slowness to reveal her health problems), but Trump has galvanized the late-night crowd, prompting a new sense of urgency, outrage, even panic.

Take Noah, the South African—born comedian now leading *The Daily Show*. He still strains to fill Stewart's formidable shoes—too sophomoric some nights, too strident on others—but Trump brings out his best. In a defining piece last October, Noah

and nuclear proliferation.

Stewart's formidable shoes—too sophomoric some nights, too strident on others—but Trump brings out his best. In a defining piece last October, Noah compared Trump's self-regarding public statements to strikingly similar ones from African dictators like Idi Amin, Robert Mugabe and Muammar Gaddafi. "Trump is presidential," said Noah. "He just happens to be running on the wrong continent." Since then, he has blasted Trump for everything from his anti-Muslim rhetoric to his protectionist trade policy. After Trump fumbled an inquiry about the names of his top advisers, Noah's staff put together a video speculating on what a Trump Cabinet might look like. It turned out to be a roomful of arguing Trumps, spouting verbatim the contradictory statements he has made on issues like abortion, the minimum wage

man at the top of the GOP ticket. With his orange

skin tone, animal-pelt hairdo and overweening ego,

Trump may be the greatest gift to comedians since

the invention of the mother-in-law joke. Hillary Clin-

ton gets her share of jabs (most recently for her "bas-

Noah, 32, who grew up under apartheid, contends that his background gives him a different perspective on the GOP candidate. "Coming from the outside," he says, "I'm not imbued with the eternal optimism and confidence that Americans have, you know? A lot of people go, 'Well, that can never happen in America.' I go, 'It can happen here.'" Like many of his peers, Noah challenges the "false equivalency" that prompts journalists to balance critical coverage of one candidate with equally tough coverage of the opposition. "There's a certain level of naiveté

'A poorly
attended
rage-athon
featuring
a parade of
hemorrhoidal
has-beens.'

—SAMANTHA BEE (ON THE GOP CONVENTION)



2016 The Late Show With Stephen Colbert

"Melania Trump Did Not Plagiarize Her RNC Speech"

A look-alike Mrs. Trump denies word theft: "I would never do such a thing. I would not, could not with a goat. I would not, could not on a boat," followed by quotes from Braveheart, the Beastie Boys and a Kit Kat ad.



2016 Late Night With Seth Meyers

"Trump's Response to the Orlando Shooting: A Closer Look"

Of the Donald's protest that he never said President Obama is allied with terrorists, Meyers was blunt: "Trump didn't explcitly say it, he implied it—with all the subtlety of an eighth-grader's cologne."



2016
Full Frontal With
Samantha Bee
"Again? Again."

In the wake of the Orlando nightclub attack, Bee refuses to offer words of comfort: "F-ck it! I am too angry for that!" She excoriates Florida Governor Rick Scott and the NRA, calling for stricter gun



2016 Last Week Tonight With John Oliver

"Our Main Story Tonight ... Is Donald Trump"

Oliver concedes that Trump has charisma: He "can seem appealing, until you take a closer look—much like the lunch buffet at a strip club." Then he calls for all to refer to the Donald as "Drumpf."





when you say Hillary Clinton is worse than Donald Trump," Noah says. "I think that's a very dangerous position to be in. And I think the press has gotten to a place where they are realizing that it's about truth and not neutrality."

While Noah projects the righteous ardor of a campus activist, British-born Oliver comes across as an exasperated high school teacher. For two years on his weekly HBO show, he has delivered biting, closely reasoned rants on topics ranging from Brexit to the decline of American newspapers. He resisted taking Trump seriously for months, but in February he delivered a blistering 20-minute takedown covering everything from Trump's business failures and his call for killing terrorist family members ("That is the front runner for the Republican nomination advocating a war crime!") to his original family name (Drumpf, according to Oliver). The piece has been viewed more than 28 million times on YouTube.

Jimmy Fallon, host of the top-rated *Tonight Show*, still carries on the Carson tradition of evenhanded, softball one-liners, along with a Trump impression that even the Donald can laugh along with. And other late-night comics, like James Corden and Conan O'Brien, steer clear of heavy-duty political material. Though more political, Colbert has been something of a disappointment in his first year on CBS, struggling to find the proper tone since dropping his right-wing alter ego.

But ABC's Kimmel—Letterman's heir as the laid-back ironist of late-night—has weighed in with some surprisingly strong political bits, most notably a parody of *The Producers* last February in which Nathan Lane and Matthew Broderick are gobsmacked when their "sure loser" candidate Trump turns into the front runner. Lately Kimmel has taken to simply

Donald Trump refuses to be politically correct. And just to be safe, he refuses to be correct.'

> —STEPHEN COLBERT

replaying Trump's speeches in slow motion, making him sound like a drunk lunatic.

And Meyers has dramatically upped his game since taking over NBC's Late Night two years ago, becoming Trump's most consistent nightly nemesis. Meyers, 42, has a history with Trump, having mocked him memorably at the 2011 White House Correspondents Association dinner. ("Donald Trump has been saying that he will run for President as a Republican," Meyers observed as Trump glowered in the audience. "Which is surprising, since I just assumed he was running as a joke.") Now he skewers the GOP nominee almost nightly on his "A Closer Look" segments, seven-minute diatribes leavened with a gag writer's brio. He has slammed Trump's flip-flopping on issues ("Trump is a Magic 8 Ball. Shake it up and you get one answer. Shake it again and you get something completely different"), and urged him to drop out of the race and simply play the President in an NBC series instead ("You would be able to be the President you want to be, but without the bothersome irritations of the press, voters or the pesky Constitution"). It is rare, not to say unprecedented, for the host of a mainstream network show to push such a blatant political viewpoint, yet Meyers says NBC is fully on board: "Not only have they gotten out of the way, but they've pushed the show to be what it is now."

Bee has even more freedom in her weekly TBS show—no pressure to gin up an opening monologue every night, or even to interview guests. Except for occasional field reports from a trio of tongue-in-cheek correspondents, she is the show's Bee-all and endall, contributing a fierce feminist twist on the *Daily Show* template. Like Oliver and Noah, she brings an outsider's perspective to the job. Born in Toronto, she grew up watching the Canadian sketch-comedy



series *SCTV* and performed with an all-female improv group, the Atomic Fireballs. She was working at an ad agency in New York City when she landed a job at *The Daily Show.* "It was probably only because I did a good impression of Stephen Colbert—I knew the show so well, I knew the style. But I definitely came to New York and thought, What am I going to do? I don't even really know that much about American history."

She has learned. Bee, 46, gets up at 5 every morning to scour the newspapers—the New York *Times* on paper, the rest online. She gets help from a crack research staff, which includes former journalists from al-Jazeera and Bloomberg News. She has explored an eclectic array of front-page issues, from abortion to Native American tribal courts, but Trump has set off the loudest alarm bells. "It's been a full banquet every week, how spectacularly ludicrous this election season has been," she says. "God willing, we've done something good for the nation. Maybe it will come back and haunt us. But as long as we speak from our heart here, we'll be fine."

SURELY NO MODERN American politician has been eviscerated as thoroughly by satirists as Trump. And yet he swept the Republican primaries and could still wind up in the White House. Which raises a key question: Are the jokes having any effect? The comics themselves are the first to dismiss the notion. "I don't think we move the needle at all," says Bee. "It would be very hurtful to the show if I started to believe that I had influence. It's very hard to do satire when you take yourself too seriously."

"I was fascinated that people said, 'Your job now is to stop Trump,'" says Noah. "I don't know how Americans were tricked into believing that is possible." He frets that satire may give fans "a false sense of activism, because people experience a catharsis and

'Maybe he is afraid Putin will cut off his supply of wives.'

—JIMMY KIMMEL (ON TRUMP'S PRAISE OF THE RUSSIAN LEADER) From left: The South African—born Noah offers an outsider's perspective; "Weekend Update" grad Meyers has evolved into a pointed political commentator

they go, 'Yeah, we've done our job, we've retweeted that clip.' Like Obama said, 'Don't boo, vote.'"

The fragmented TV audience makes it tough for any comedian to have Carson's clout. Fallon's toprated *Tonight Show* averages 3.7 million viewers (compared with 6.5 million in Carson's last year), and the numbers dwindle from there. Noah's *Daily Show* reaches 1.3 million (down from about 2 million during Stewart's final year—though streaming has increased by 50%). The audience is getting younger but not necessarily more diverse, especially after the death of Wilmore's *Nightly Show*. Like the pundits of MSNBC or Fox News, late-night comics may be jesting to the converted.

There also seems to be something about Trump that immunizes him from even the most visceral satire. Modern observational comedy—from George Carlin railing about the military-industrial complex to Jerry Seinfeld complaining about losing socks in the dryer-relies on an audience with shared values, a belief in rational argument, respect for common sense. Trump appeals less to rationality than blind faith. No satiric barb, no matter how sharp, can breach that wall. Yet the late-nighters may be having more impact than they realize. While journalists were still trying to treat the GOP pick as a typical phenomenon—analyzing his positions, comparing them with his opponents', striving for balance—comics decided that Trump was such an outlier that he demanded stronger action. As Bee ranted on her Sept. 12 show: "News organizations simply are not equipped to cover a candidate whose entire being is a lie."

This flowering of political satire could be a unique moment in American comedy—one that passes quickly should Trump be sent back to his reality show. It's hard to imagine similar passion being directed at a President Hillary Clinton or a stonewalling Republican Congress. Yet these satirists may have trouble backtracking from their new partisan aggressiveness, becoming yet another contributor to the bubble that news consumers increasingly live in—their views reinforced by what they choose to watch and read.

The comics, for their part, are starting to feel some Trump burnout. "I would love to ease up on Donald Trump, but he makes it impossible," says Kimmel. "He has said more outrageous things than all the major candidates for the last 20 years combined. It's kind of like being a goldfish. There's a danger you might eat too much and explode."

As for Bee, she's hopeful that the "trash-can fire" that has dominated her show for six-plus months will soon be extinguished. "There's so much outrageous stuff that happens in this country and this world," she says. "I will welcome his absence." Maybe so. But before then, at least one late-night host should step out from behind the desk and thank the man on his way out.

Television

THE MAKING OF LUKE CAGE: A HERO FOR THIS MOMENT

The team behind the most political superhero show yet

By Eliana Dockterman

Hero for Hire No. 1,

published in 1972

A BULLETPROOF MAN HIDES OUT IN Harlem. The wrongfully convicted excon with superhuman strength wants to keep a low profile but soon finds himself

caught between a triggerhappy crime lord and an intrepid police officer. Despite his misgivings, he uses his body to shield the neighborhood from stray bullets in the battle between cops and criminals. This makes Netflix's newest protagonist, Luke Cage, an inherently political hero. Born in the pages of Marvel comics in 1972 during the boom in blaxploitation films, the man immune to bullets has taken on new resonance in the era of Black Lives Matter.

Superheroes don't usually lend themselves to pointed social commentary. But the executives at Netflix and Marvel knew that bringing their first blacksuperhero show to the small screen would require more than awe-inspiring CGI explosions. In his first meeting with

> the streaming service, creator Cheo Hodari Coker won the job by pitching the series as an examination of Harlem, "like what The Wire did for Baltimore." In order to achieve that goal, he would need to assemble his own team that would be able to capture the vibe of the New York City neighborhood.

greenlighted Netflix

A Tribe Called Quest's Ali Shaheed Muhammad to score the show and recruit artists like Faith Evans and Raphael Saa-

Luke Cage (it premieres Sept. 30), and Coker has kept his promise to Harlem. He tapped music producers Adrian Younge and CHEO HODARI COKER envisions a superhero show that fuses politics with hip-hop, set in Harlem

diq to perform at the villain's fictional nightclub. He instructed the prop master to carefully choose a selection of books for Luke's bedroom, including a copy of Ralph Ellison's Invisible Man. He gathered a diverse set of writers to conjure barbershop debates over the Knicks' lineup. "I called our writers' room the Danger Room," Coker says. "In X-Men, the Danger Room is this place where the X-Men train and fight each other and work out their powers. Our writers' room was majority African American—which is a rarity on television—but it was also



diverse in every way. When it came to ideas, everybody had their own power. There was beautiful conflict when it came to story."

And rather than avoiding controversy, Coker's team runs right at the turmoil of 2016. A local politician campaigns in the neighborhood with the slogan KEEP HARLEM BLACK, in the face of gentrification that threatens to homogenize Harlem's rich cultural history. Characters clash over the use of the *N* word. The noble hero dresses in a hoodie, a nod to Trayvon Martin and a visual ar-

gument against the assumption that a black man in such clothing is threatening. "What if you introduce a bulletproof character into a social ecology that isn't bulletproof?" asks Coker. "How does he affect the police? The streets? People in the neighborhood who have turned a blind eye to crime in order to survive?"

COKER, 40, COMPARES HIMSELF to a football coach and the writers to his coaching staff. (His roommate at Stanford was David Shaw, now the head coach of that school's football team.) In a

TV show, Coker says, "dialogue is the offense and structure is the defense."

If so, actor Mike Colter is the quarter-back. Colter, who broke out in *Million Dollar Baby* and has starred on *The Good Wife* and *The Following*, turned down many roles that he felt perpetuated the same black tropes. "I didn't know whether I was going to be successful in this business because I think you have to ignore the fact that sometimes you're strictly a stereotype or at the very least you're not doing anything to undo a stereotype," he says.

Luke Cage diverges from the pattern in other ways. Luke is a physically imposing man hesitant to use his strength. He carries himself with integrity and ease. He's thoughtful and reserved. Even his theme music combines hip-hop beats with undertones of blues and jazz. He uses his comic-book-originated one-liner "Sweet Christmas!" sparingly, opting instead for pensive silence. The show's palette is brighter, the music throbbing with energy, the themes "unapologetically black," says Younge. "He's a black superhero, but he's a different type of black alpha male. He's not bombastic. You rarely see a modern black male character who is soulful and intelligent."

MUSIC WAS THE SHOW'S GLUE. Colter and Coker first bonded over their love of '90s hip-hop groups like Public Enemy, Wu-Tang Clan and A Tribe Called Quest. Coker, who interviewed and befriended A Tribe Called Quest's Muhammad some 20 years ago during his time as a journalist, recruited the legendary producer to create music for the show. They used the lexicon of music as a shorthand on set, referencing obscure songs to define the vibe of a scene. "I never wanted it to feel like a cliché: Let's use hip-hop because it's black urban social," says Coker. "No, it had to be hip-hop from a certain area that resonated." For Luke, that meant fewer loud anthems familiar to shoot-'em-up scenes and more hiphop with the stirring sounds of jazz and blues at its core.



Muhammad says he and Younge jumped at the opportunity to help set the tone for a hero they believe America needs right now. "Given the conversation around police brutality, to get a call to do something like this related to a very positive black superhero who is bulletproof and trying to make a difference in his community—that's the opportunity of a lifetime."

The issue of police-community relations is central to this show. Simone Missick plays Misty Knight, one of Marvel's few black female heroes. A by-the-book cop, Misty clashes with vigilante Luke

about the best way to dole out justice. While a modern version of Misty could be portrayed as either corrupt or naive, the writers created a character who was more nuanced than that. "You've got this woman who is a cop and believes in the system at a time when it's difficult to believe in the system and believe in justice in the traditional sense," says Missick. "She has ideals that are not popular, onor offscreen. But Misty is such a believer in doing things the right way and making a difference by being a cop and doing her job with integrity."

Misty's main target is the gangster Cottonmouth (House of Cards' Mahershala Ali) and his cousin Mariah Dillard (Alfre Woodard), a corrupt politician. Coker persuaded Woodard, who lives in Harlem, to star in the show by proving his love of the neighborhood and its culture.

For her part, Woodard calls Coker a "student of the Harlem Renaissance, of the history of Harlem." She says, "He traces the roots it took and the branches that have reached out across the world in terms of influence. The reason Luke Cage succeeds is that even though Luke has superpowers, it's grounded in that reality." That grounding includes discussions about white flight, the legacies of such icons as Zora Neale Hurston and Crispus Attucks, and the disruption that urban planner Robert Moses' massive projects in the 1960s and '70s caused for thousands of black New Yorkers.

Coker looked inward too, drawing inspiration from his grandfather, a Harlem native who became a Tuskegee Airman and was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross. "He used to say that at a time when it was purported African Americans didn't have the mental capacity to fly airplanes, they knew the stakes were as profound at home as anything they were dealing with in the air or being a part of a segregated unit," says Coker. "I'm not going to be one of those people who says, I'm a showrunner, I'm not a black showrunner. I'm black when I go to sleep. I'm black when I wake up, period. It doesn't affect my perspective on everything, but at the same time, it's who I am, and I'm proud of it."

Coker knows that like his grandfather, his crew has the opportunity to make history.



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TimeOff

'RULE CHANGES MEANT TO MAKE THE EMMYS MORE POPULIST HAVE DILUTED THEIR POWER.' —PAGE 56



Seeking to unravel The Blair Witch Project, Scott, Reid and McCune, from left, have many rivers to cross

MOVIES

The new curse of Blair Witch: it's barely scary

By Stephanie Zacharek

IN THE VENN DIAGRAM REPRESENTing people who adore horror movies and those who take them so deeply to heart that they can barely watch them, the intersection is a jagged oval shaped something like the mouth of the guy in Edvard Munch's The Scream. Some horror fans can devour the grisliest, most upsetting pictures like bonbons and still drift off to dreamland like newborn babes. Others inhale the essence of a horror film so deeply that they face nighttime with dread. I think I'm mostly in that Venn center, the land of those who are easily freaked out. But Blair Witch—the "secret" sequel to the 1999 low-budget hit The Blair Witch Project—left me feeling ... nothing. Was I supposed to be scared by this thing?

The Blair Witch Project, directed by

Daniel Myrick and Eduardo Sánchez, was a mostly improvised affair in which three characters venture into the woods near Burkittsville, Md., to make a documentary about the legend of a witch who supposedly haunted the place. The group disappeared, leaving just a scattering of video equipment: the film was presented as footage recovered from the doomed expedition, and some early viewers of the film took the bait, believing the footage was real. If the picture didn't and still doesn't—hang together as great craftsmanship, it at least stands as a primo example of horror gimcrackery, and for better or, more likely, worse, it ushered in the era of the found-footage horror movie.

Until recently, almost no one knew that a *Blair Witch Project* sequel was

Time Off Reviews

coming. (The 2000 cash-in quickie *Book of Shadows: Blair Witch* 2 doesn't count.) The new *Blair Witch*—directed by horror-genre whiz kid Adam Wingard, whose credits include segments in two of the *V/H/S* movies as well as the 2011 home-invasion thriller *You're Next*—was shot under the title *The Woods*, and the public wasn't aware of its connection to *The Blair Witch Project* until it was shown at Comic-Con in July.

Blair Witch is a true sequel, building on specific elements of the first film, even re-creating rather lovingly the original brushy-gloomy forest vegetation. James (James Allen McCune) is a young man who has never gotten over the disappearance of his older sister Heather (played, in the first movie, by Heather Donohue) in those woods. What

There is much

and yelling of

looms on the

dazed stumbling

through the brush

names. Suddenly.

landscape. There,

bad stuff happens

a familiar house

really happened to her? Might she still be alive? He and a friend, Lisa (Callie Hernandez), plan an expedition to the deadly forest—Lisa will record the excursion for her documentary class. Two other friends, Ashley (Corbin Reid) and Peter (Brandon Scott), come along,

and the group reluctantly allows two Burkittsville locals, Lane and Talia (Wes Robinson and Valorie Curry), to act as guides.

And so these six set out. In the early scenes, we get the usual bickering among characters-and the usual talking behind others' backs—to establish those film-school necessities known as relationship dynamics. Purportedly creepy—or at least icky—stuff starts happening. As the six ford an innocentlooking stream, Ashley screams out in pain. She has stepped, she says, on some sort of "moving rock." Girly-like, she can't bear to look at the gash in her foot, but we see it up close, in all its raggedy crimson glory. The wound is deemed not too bad and bandaged. Later-it's hard to say if hours or days have passed, as the spell of the forest bends the group's sense of time—that wound will turn into something decidedly worse than not too bad.

Blair Witch, like the earlier movie, is supposedly cobbled together from found footage, though this time around, the technology is far more sophisticated. The cameras and recording equipment carried by the group are so shrunken and lightweight that they barely register as a presence, and the gang has brought along a drone to help with navigation. But as *Blair Witch* reminds us, loudly and repeatedly, not even the best technology in the world can protect us from pure evil, and its signs mount by the minute. The spooky twig figures from the first movie reappear, at first in a sort of cute-looking version, like a kids' craft project, and later in a more threatening incarnation. The forest rings with the sound of branches—and other things cracking ominously. There are the usual

> "We've been walking in a circle!" exclamations. There is much dazed stumbling through the brush and yelling of names. Suddenly, a familiar house looms on the landscape. There, bad stuff happens.

The idea behind *Blair* Witch is that millennials (as these characters are) are the seen-it-all generation, so blasé

about navigating life through their cellphone cameras—recording it instead of actually living it—that the only way to shake a response out of them is to send them into an evil forest. If I were a millennial, I'd feel condescended to. As a nonmillennial, I just felt bored. Blair Witch does offer a bear cub's pawful of tense, intense moments, and there are some decidedly grisly bits. (Keep an eye on that foot wound.)

But I kept waiting for a truly terrifying thing to happen—something beyond the sound of young people whimpering, or the look of their grimy, bloodied faces as they're ambushed by an unexpected someone or something—and just as I thought that thing must surely be right around the corner, the credits began rolling. Your enjoyment of *Blair Witch* depends mightily on your tolerance for watching annoying people get the pants scared off them in the woods. Me? That night, I slept like a baby.

MOVIES

Oliver Stone's Snowden lacks a pulse

A MOVIE ABOUT A WHISTLE-blower can be an exhilarating, galvanizing experience—unless it's *Snowden*, Oliver Stone's sincere, methodical yet almost completely lifeless account of how erstwhile CIA employee Edward Snowden turned over classified National Security Agency information to a series of newspapers in 2013, beginning with the U.K.-based daily the *Guardian*.

Joseph Gordon-Levitt plays Snowden, bespectacled, low-key, unnervingly bright: you feel for him when, as a deeply patriotic young man, he's told he can't serve in the Army after suffering a series of leg fractures. It's always a challenge to play a recessive character, and not even a perceptive actor like Gordon-Levitt can reach Snowden's core. In telling the story of this man's angular shift from dutiful, politically conservative government employee to left-leaning antisurveillance champion of whistleblowers, Stone has made a picture that barely breathes. Whatever you think of Edward Snowden's principles, he put his life and livelihood on the line to uphold them. *Snowden* risks nothing.—s.z.





MOVIES

Bridget Jones hasn't lost her charm

IT'S BEEN 12 YEARS SINCE WE LAST SAW RENÉE Zellweger as Bridget Jones, instructing Colin Firth's Mark Darcy to please propose after two movies' worth of indecision. When she returns in *Bridget Jones's Baby*, the third chapter in the film franchise, our heroine is 43, single again and facing a new predicament: she's unexpectedly pregnant and unsure whether the miracle fertilization of her "hard-boiled" ova resulted from a fling with an American tech mogul (Patrick Dempsey) or one with her now ex Darcy.

The new movie departs from Helen Fielding's novels, which inspired the first two films. Rather than adapting her third book, *Bridget Jones: Mad About the Boy*—featuring a 51-year-old widowed Bridget—Fielding and her co-writers set the movie a decade earlier. Despite a long gestation and the withdrawal of Hugh Grant—whose appealing cad Daniel Cleaver was the yin to Darcy's yang—*Baby* turns out to be a triumph of daffy charm.

It works because Bridget is the same lovable goof she's always been: a fallible normal who defies the unrealistic expectations thrust upon modern women. Here, this extends to the fraught realm of labor and delivery. (Drugs? Please. New-age breathing techniques? No thanks.) For anyone who's worn the wrong underwear for the occasion or mispronounced the name of a remote nation, Bridget is our savior in unpolished armor. We like her, as Darcy always has, just as she is. —ELIZA BERMAN

QUICK TALK

Rachel Weisz

In Denial, out Sept. 30, the actor, 46, plays historian Deborah Lipstadt, who was sued for libel in 1996 for calling author David Irving a Holocaust denier; in the British legal system, the burden fell on her defense team to essentially prove that the Holocaust happened.

You have a very pronounced Queens accent in the movie. Yeah! Deborah's accent is Jewish Queens. She has a Jewishness in the way she talks. There's a kind of call-and-response—like a Talmudic thing. My son's grandparents are from Brooklyn and they're Jewish, and I had their wonderful accents in my mind and had to get them out.

Were you raised Jewish? Not religious, but culturally. My dad was born in Budapest and my mom in Vienna. She left Austria two weeks before the war broke out. It was talked about a lot in my family because both my parents fled the Nazis. But this film isn't really about the Holocaust. It's about the insanity of trying to put fact on trial. I think screenwriter David Hare was inspired by Donald Trump—this idea that you can have an opinion one day and an opinion the next day and speak as if it's a fact.

What was filming at Auschwitz like? What struck me was the industrialized level of organization. It wasn't killing in rage, which is still terrible, but that's human. There was something disconnected from humanity. You stop to think, How does a human get to a place where that was O.K.? A lot of people say, "It happened ages ago—let's get over it." Historically, it's a minute ago. My parents were children.

You've begun producing films. Does that have anything to do with a lack of good roles for women? There should be more. It's strange, talking about women as if we're some tiny minority group that needs to be represented in cinema. It's like saying we need to find some good roles for sheepdogs. Films where women are front and center, that tell their stories—there probably aren't enough. —E.B.

ON MY RADAR THE REBOOTED GHOSTBUSTERS

I loved Ghostbusters! I thought it was great. It did well, didn't it—even after everyone hated on it.'



The Emmys struggle for relevance in the era of the stream

By Daniel D'Addario

LAST YEAR'S EMMY AWARDS WERE A SATISFY-ingly well-made TV spectacle. Fans of *Game of Thrones*, TV's signature hit, got to see their favorite stars celebrating the show's first Best Drama win. Acting winners Viola Davis, who gave a moving speech about the dearth of opportunities for black actresses, and Frances McDormand, who praised the power of literature, created striking TV moments by speaking from the heart.

None of it registered. The Emmys scored their lowest ever recorded rating, with just 11.9 million viewers. (Last season's *Big Bang Theory* episodes, by comparison, averaged 15 million; the 2016 Oscars, seen as low-rated by Oscars standards, got 34.4 million.) ABC, broadcasting this year's ceremony Sept. 18, is surely hoping for a different result, but it's hard to imagine how different a show they could possibly make.

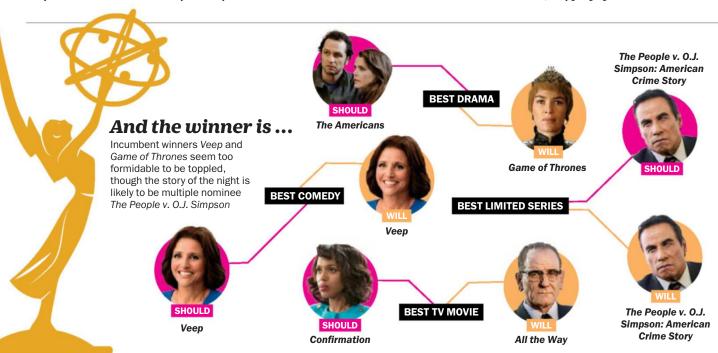
At a time when there's more, and better, TV than ever, why is the awards ceremony that serves as the ultimate recommendation engine—distilling what's actually worth watching amid all of the clutter—so tangential to the viewing experience? The Emmys should be front and center. Instead, they're on the sidelines. Last year may have been

an aberration; off years do happen for all kinds of telecasts. But it's hard to shake the sense that this isn't a show that matters.

THE EMMYS ARE UP AGAINST a number of challenges—and airing opposite the NFL broadcast on a Sunday night is just about the only wound that isn't self-inflicted. Rule changes meant to make the results more populist have diluted their power. The expansion of categories, for instance, has blunted the impact of a nomination. Last year there were eight Best Supporting Actress in a Comedy nominees, a number that makes the honor of being nominated seem more like a rubber stamp than a citation of talent. The impulse to broaden out the set of nominees is understandable, but the outcome makes the Emmys feel pointless. Faced with a viewership that wants to know which of the vaster-than-ever volume of well-made TV series they should watch, the Emmys reply, "Almost all of them."

Another recent rule change makes it far easier to vote in Best Drama and Best Comedy—previously determined by small blue-ribbon committee—without voters proving they'd watched every submission. This makes it easy to reward the most popular shows, which could account for *Game of Thrones*' particular dominance last time around, and provides a rationale as to why the show will likely sweep again.

But this also saps the Emmys' greatest power to introduce viewers to that on TV that is unusual and new to them. Sure, a hyperpopular show could



also be TV's best or, at least, could be whatever we mean by "Emmy-worthy." But in the years before streaming services brought on an almost unmanageable amount of content, the Emmys had a robust history of honoring shows with which casual TV viewers likely weren't familiar. On the comedy side, Arrested Development and 30 Rock only crossed many fans' transoms after winning Best Comedy prizes for their first seasons; in the drama categories, *Breaking Bad* (whose star Bryan Cranston won Best Actor long before his show was a hit) and Mad Men saw their fortunes lifted on Emmy night. The Emmys don't need to become the Golden Globes, whose TV winners sometimes skew new for new's sake. But even if the most popular winners in Drama or Comedy are deserving each year, something is lost when an awards ceremony isn't willing to get weird.

Granted, the Emmys have a track record of missing out on shows that went on to be seen as hugely influential—from *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* to *The Wire*, every TV fan has their pet snub. They can't nominate everything great. But lately, the sense that they're even trying has faded. The sheer volume of nominations has encouraged a sort of mindless repetition—as though overwhelmed by choice, the Academy defaults to what they know. Yes, Maggie Smith is great, but her *Downton Abbey* nomination should've gone to one of the women of *Mr. Robot*; Kevin Spacey's fourth acting nod for *House of Cards* could have singled out Justin Theroux in *The Leftovers. Modern Family*, on its seventh consecutive Best Comedy

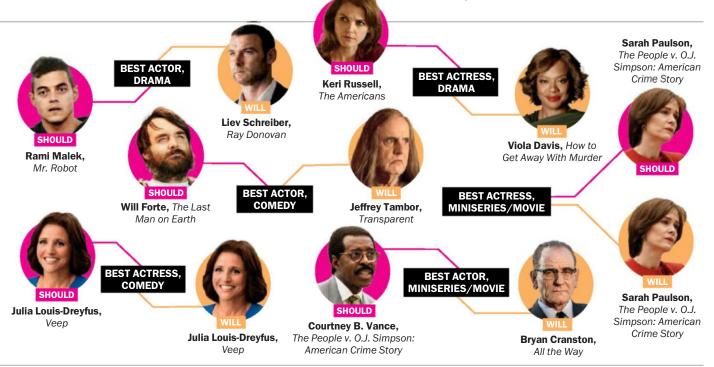
'I want to thank my daughter Alice ... and our dozens and dozens of viewers.'

TINA FEY, accepting 30 Rock's first Best Comedy Emmy. The show ended up airing for seven seasons

nomination, blocked the underwatched Amazon gem *Catastrophe*—or half a dozen other shows that Emmy could wake potential viewers up to.

THERE'S STILL ROOM for an old-school surprise this time around—say, if the superlative and undersung FX drama *The Americans* claims the top prize—though I wouldn't bet on it. The Emmys' recent rule changes suggest a muddled vision for a ceremony that, when done right, serves TV obsessives looking for their next great fix. Anyone who's casually interested in the vast number of things available to watch would rather spend three or more hours on Sept. 18 watching something else. *Game of Thrones* obsessives clearly won't come together in droves just to catch sight of their favorite actors on the red carpet; they've moved on, by now, to streaming *Stranger Things* or *Black Mirror*.

That's the greatest challenge the Emmys face. We're all recommendation engines now. In the face of so much good TV, viewers can create their own bespoke experience and share the details of it with like-minded friends, family and followers. The conversation about the shows that are interesting and experimental happens all year long, and has wildly outpaced a once-a-year awards show. Most crucially, it elides any sort of community other than the one the viewer chooses for herself. In the era of the stream, a true consensus hit is almost unheard of, and chasing after them is a waste of time. If the Emmys want to get big again—that is, interesting and useful—they're going to have to be willing to honor the small.





In Patchett's new book, an avoidable tragedy changes the fates of two families

FICTION

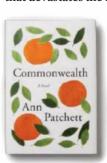
A death in the family inspires two works of art

THE PARTY SCENE THAT OPENS
Ann Patchett's new novel unspools
like a home movie. A lawyer from the
L.A. district attorney's office, Albert
Cousins, crashes the christening
celebration of baby Frances, second
daughter of L.A. cop Fix Keating. Bert
brings a bottle of gin; Beverly, Fix's
wife, halves oranges from the backyard
for cocktails. Their collaboration on
an assembly line of freshly squeezed
drinks leads to an affair that breaks
up two families—and joins them. It's
chaotic in the moment, but the patina
of time reveals a graceful choreography.

Commonwealth's family saga, which follows the six Keating and Cousins kids over five decades, spirals around the secret tale of a child's death and the migration of that tale, lightly disguised, into an award-winning novel by an outsider who was told the story. If you like your fiction to be about something, you could say this novel is about the morality of profiting from someone else's experience. You could also say it's about being human—speaking human words, making human choices, messing up with human fallibility and making

amends with your hopeful human heart.

We don't see the novel within the novel, but it's hard to imagine better execution than Patchett's. Moving effortlessly among her people and their pasts, she devotes attention as lovingly to a character whose life in this story spans two paragraphs as she does to Franny, the book's linchpin. Although the death that devastates the clan ostensibly drives



the plot, none of the 322 pages lacks a prize-worthy revelation in Patchett's vibrant prose—about parents and siblings and what it means to grow up and let go, and what a bad idea it is to date a novelist.

At the christening party, one of the guests, Father Joe Mike, ruminates on the sudden proliferation of gins-and-juice among the revelers: "He wanted to tell the congregation, the few who were not presently in the Keatings' backyard, how the miracle of loaves and fishes had been enacted here today, but he couldn't find a way to wring enough booze out of the narrative." Patchett could wring fiction from a stone. It's delightful to read what she gets from Valencia oranges.

-RADHIKA JONES

MEMOIR

Bons mots in a new language

WHEN LAUREN COLLINS left her provincial North Carolina hometown, she writes, "no one would have guessed that I would become an American living in Switzerland with a Frenchman I'd met in England." But that's exactly what happened. And when one falls for a Frenchman, one must learn French.

In her emotional, erudite memoir When in French, the New Yorker writer documents her linguistic labors, including the missteps—she accidentally tells her motherin-law she gave birth to a coffeemaker—on the road to mastery. At times she expounds on the history and philosophy of language; at others, it feels like catching up with a clever friend you haven't seen since college.

But the most intriguing question posed is as much about identity as language: Are you someone else when you speak and live in a nonnative tongue? "I wanted to speak French and to sound like North Carolina," Collins writes. "I was hoping, though I didn't know whether it was possible, to have become a different person without having changed."

—SARAH BEGLEY



Lady Gaga returns to a changed mainstream that's moved on

LADY GAGA SURFACED AS A FULLY FORMED POP STAR IN THE summer of 2008, fusing ironclad hooks with a theater nerd's avant-gardist sensibility. Her meta-narrative was all about celebrity, which is exactly what she became when a string of monster hits elevated her to icon status in a matter of months. In recent history, no other artist has had such a dizzying ascent to the top of mainstream music's pyramid, a success she sustained with a string of killer albums.

But the past three years have seen Gaga, born Stefani Germanotta, step away from churning out chart toppers. Instead she has made jazz music, including a well-received duets album with Tony Bennett (2014's Cheek to Cheek), and delivered a Golden Globe-winning performance on American Horror Story. The Sept. 8 release of her new single, "Perfect Illusion," announced a return to the style that made her a star overnight.

Or does it? "Perfect Illusion" is a big song, but it's not a modern one. It's anchored by a roaring refrain and features an unhinged, theatrical vocal performance and a militant drumbeat. It even has a key change on the final chorus—an appealingly old-fashioned diva flourish. This is all out of step with the trends. Since Gaga stepped away from the charts, a new sound has overtaken radio: many of today's biggest hits have a breezy, aerobic quality, often a collaboration between a singer you've probably heard of—Justin Bieber, Rihanna and a DJ you probably haven't-DJ Snake, or Zedd. The No. 1 single in the country right now, "Closer," was recorded by a pair of DJs called the Chainsmokers along with the Internet-famous singer-songwriter Halsey, and it succeeds by way of a shimmering effortlessness. A song like "Perfect Illusion," with its sludgy production and glam-rock urgency, is as unhip as can be.

Yet there's something timely about the sentiment, if not the execution, of Gaga's song. "Perfect Illusion" is about the way a love affair can suddenly seem fraudulent; even though it's not political, the song plays like an anthem for the disenchanted, and it arrives as the U.S. threatens to boil over with frustrations about systemic injustices and the nagging sense, across party lines, that everything is a scam. The rage that ripples through "Perfect Illusion" gives voice, uncomfortably, to something simmering in the zeitgeist.

When Gaga came up, it was also a moment of transition for America—at the height of the Great Recession. But back then, her message was uniting, a rallying cry so simple it felt like a salve: Just dance. — SAM LANSKY

> After several years away from making radio hits, Gaga is back in the game



ROCKER CRED Gaga wrote her new single with Tame Impala leader Kevin Parker, the producer Bloodpop and Grammy-winning artist and songwriter Mark Ronson



TIME



TELEVISION High Maintenance. which follows a pot dealer as he makes deliveries to a diverse array of New York City customers, makes the leap from web series to HBO on Sept. 16.

MOVIES

In the heartfelt comedy My Blind Brother (Sept. 23), a man (Nick Kroll) and his coddled blind brother (Adam Scott) compete for the affections of the same woman (Jenny Slate).

In Carl Hiaasen's new novel Razor Girl (Sept. 6), a series of unfortunate events befalls a colorful cast of characters in the Florida Keys, from a Hawaiian-shirt-wearing mafioso to a reality-star accordionist.

PODCASTS

On "Who? Weekly," hosts Lindsey Weber and Bobby Finger divide celebrities into "thems" (the ones you know) and "whos" (the ones that make you go "Who?"), offering a primer on the interconnected web of semifamous D-listers.



Time Off PopChart

Sarah Paulson (left) is taking Marcia Clark—the real-life head prosecutor whom she is nominated for playing in The People v. O.J. Simpson—to the Emmys as her plus-one.



Martha Stewart offered high praise for Snoop Dogg, who's co-hosting her upcoming dinner-party show:

'He's a cook, baker, candlestick maker, everything.'





An Australian food company is giving away pepper shakers that block wi-fi at the dinner table, in an effort to encourage conversation.



Katy Perry **surprised an Orlando shooting survivor on Ellen** and offered to pay for his first year of film school.



Starbucks is testing a weekend-only brunch menu that includes Belgian waffles and French toast.

Nintendo's Mario franchise will make its long-awaited mobile debut in the form of a game called Super Mario Run; it will be released on Apple's App Store in December.



The Internet was very dubious

about Apple's new wireless

headphones. Quipped one

Twitter user: "I've already lost

my #AirPods and they haven't

even come out yet."

TIME'S WEEKLY TAKE ON

LOVE IT

WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE

Kanye
West's Yeezy
Season 4
fashion show
took place
outdoors
and started
nearly two
hours late,
causing some
models to
faint or sit
down from
standing in

the hot sun.



A 70-year-old man accused of robbing a bank in Kansas City, Kans., told investigators he did it because he preferred jail to continuing to live with his wife.



Protesters charged Ryan Lochte and his dance partner, Cheryl Burke, after their first performance on Dancing With the Stars, before being subdued and arrested for trespassing.



Taylor Swift and Tom Hiddleston **broke up after three months** of heavily documented romance.



A commercial jet (and all its passengers) landed in Melbourne—instead of Malaysia—because the pilot input the wrong coordinates into the navigation system.

PEPPER: MARS; PERRY; YOUTUBE; STARBUCKS; INSTAGRAN; MARIO; NINTENDO; IPHONE; APPLE; LOCHTE; AP; KANSAS CITY; REUTERS; STEWART, DOGG, PAULSON, CLARK, PLANE, SWIFT, HIDDLESTON, YEEZY; GETTY IMAGES



My life as a 'None' and other tales from the ranks of the unaffiliated and the agnostic

By Susanna Schrobsdorff

LIKE A LOT OF WOMEN OF A CERTAIN AGE, I'VE TAKEN UP yoga. And because I don't go halfway on my clichés, I've done immersion yoga weekends, learned the Sanskrit names for various ways of being upside down and at least once referred to "my practice." Someday I'll wake up at an ashram in India only to discover that half the people there are from Brooklyn or some other stressed-out part of the U.S.

So it's no surprise that when I went on vacation earlier this month I ended up in a corner of upstate New York with lots of superserious yoga classes, the kind with a little statue of a Hindu god in the front of the room. One day I attended a class on what the teacher said was the birthday of the Hindu god Ganesh. He's the elephant deity that you see on T-shirts and socks and other things sold at Urban Outfitters.

The instructor told us about Ganesh's history and how in India, he's considered a remover of obstacles. Moments later we, a room full of well-meaning, spandex-wearing, mostly aging and somewhat tattooed women were chanting Ganesh mantras in Sanskrit. I've always been a little seduced by the ritualistic part of yoga. The om-ing and all that wishing happiness to others makes you feel virtuous as you roll up your mat. Even more embarrassing, I had half expected Ganesh to remove a few of my personal obstacles. After all, I did devote 10 minutes to chanting about his grace.

SINCE THEN, I'VE QUESTIONED my casual pursuit of spirituality. I'm agnostic about God, and there's just a smallish space where faith might fit into my life. So I check the "spiritual but not religious" box. And, like a lot of people, I have become an acolyte of the church of self-improvement, choosing appealing bits of other faiths to better my lot. I'm just the kind of person that author and pastor Lillian Daniel has aptly mocked, writing, "You are now comfortably in the norm for self-centered American culture, right smack in the bland majority of people who find ancient religions dull but find themselves uniquely fascinating."

People like me are on the rise. The "Nones," those who are not affiliated with any religion, or are agnostic, or just plain atheist, are now almost a quarter of the population, says a recent study out of Duke University. There are 19 million more Nones now than there were in 2007. And at 56 million strong, there are more Americans who are unaffiliated than there are Catholics and mainline Protestants, according to a 2015 Pew Research report. Fewer than half of young adults ages 18 to 30 are sure God exists. In a few years, the largest "religion" in the U.S. will be None.

Like many Nones, I grew up in a mixed-faith household (those are increasing too). My mother Mary Anne was a Catholic until she eloped with my atheist German father. And though she was educated by the nuns and had a college degree from the Jesuits, she never went back to the church. Mom was still a believer, but she didn't raise us that way. We exchanged Christmas presents and dressed up for Easter but never spoke of prayer. We'd ask her about God and all the miraculous stories from the Bible, and she'd say, "Don't take everything so literally." That

> made sense, but I couldn't understand how she could be so sure that there was a Creator at all. Skepticism came easily to me then and now.

> SHE DIDN'T GO BACK to the church when she entered the final terrible stage of the emphysema that would kill her at 73. (Like so many nurses in her day, she had smoked for decades.) But almost by accident, a month before she died she stopped at the Our Lady of Sorrows church where she had celebrated her first Communion. It was a freezing November day, and for an hour, my mom and her oxygen tank, my uncle and my atheist dad sat in the empty church.

> I don't know if she prayed. But I do know that my mother had the certainty that she would go "home," as she called it, where her long-gone parents and my sister were. It was a comfort I envied as I watched her slip away a few days after Christmas. I could be grateful

for the unending kindness of nurses and drugs like morphine, but when she was gone, it felt like a void had opened up. Then, as now, I longed for faith.

That essential human need might just be proof that God does exist. Or so argues an observant friend of mine. We have innate cravings for food and sleep and love, and so perhaps a desire to identify with a higher power is not an accident of our design, he says. That built-in yearning is there because there's something worth yearning for. It's the kind of logic that my mother, the student of Jesuits, would have loved.



Carla Hayden The Librarian of Congress, who oversees a collection of 162 million pieces, talks about Abraham Lincoln, overdue books and what she's reading right now

What's significant about your new appointment? Being the first female and the first African American means that the legacy of the 14 Librarians of Congress will include diversity—and also a female in a female-dominated profession.

What's your favorite item in the collections? One is the life mask of Abraham Lincoln. My family's from Illinois, and in fact most of my relatives are buried in the same cemetery as Abraham Lincoln. It's just part of our legacy. As a child I spent every summer in Springfield, Ill. So to actually see the life mask of Abraham Lincoln, it resonated.

You are the first Librarian of Congress appointed in the digital age. Why does digitizing the collection matter? Because it can provide access to people who would never get to come to Washington, D.C. I visited a tribal library, and to have a child sitting there, able to pull up things and look at them, it's opening up the world.

During the Freddie Gray protests, you kept a branch of Baltimore's **Enoch Pratt Free Library, where** you were CEO, open in the middle of rioting. What happened? The community protected the library that Monday night, and we knew that they would look for that place of refuge and relief and opportunity. We opened [in the morning] and there were people there including a young man to get on the computer to file job applications, and he came back that Thursday and said he had three nibbles. The kids were there. Whole Foods started bringing in food and, by the end of the week, diapers, because the stores were closed. The media was there because there was no other place open. So it was like a command center.

As president of the American Library Association, you argued against parts of the Patriot Act that allowed federal observation of public-library browsing records. How do you think that act has affected libraries? We were concerned at that time because we wanted to make sure there was a balance between security and personal freedoms. In the intervening years, we've been very pleased that our concerns were listened to, that there were revisions made over time.

You also once opposed pornography filters on library computers. What do you think now? The early filters were filtering out useful health information, and the one that was a real issue was breast cancer. Over time, the filters got much more sophisticated, so now libraries are much more comfortable.

Can you tell me about the first book you ever checked out of a library? I can tell you the first one I had fines on, because I loved it—that's Bright April. It was about an African-American girl, she was a Brownie, she had pigtails, and I thought I looked like her. What's so important about kids' booksthey can be windows to introduce them to the world, but they also need to see a reflection. They should be a window and a mirror.

What have libraries meant to you throughout your life? They've been sanctuaries, a place I can go to discover.

What's your favorite book? The one that I'm reading, whatever I'm reading at that time.

What are you reading now? Well, last night, I picked up a copy of *The Historian As Detective* by Robin W. Winks. It's a book that ties research and the science of writing mysteries together.

-SARAH BEGLEY

'Libraries have been sanctuaries, a place I can go to discover.'





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